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THE

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PROFESSOR RAMSAY ON THE INCIDENCE OF PASSOVER AND THE USE OF GERMAN AUTHORITIES.

It is doubtless deplorable, if true, that any English-speaking scholar, investigating the history of the Jewish calendar, were he no abler or more experienced (*pace* Prof. Ramsay's generous compliments) than myself, should cherish an unnatural prejudice against the treatises of his mother tongue, and yield to a morbid craving for the labyrinthine mazes of Germans and other foreigners. The neglect, if real, demands apology,—still more if there has been misrepresentation.

But for the interests of science it is more deplorable, if true, that a scholar so much abler and so much more experienced than myself as is Prof. Ramsay, should lend the weight of his great authority to the perpetuation and aggravation of "a very serious error in determining the incidence of Passover" committed by several of his fellow-countrymen in succession, through dependence on a single German authority (Wieseler), without recourse to the real sources in the Talmud and pseudepigraphic literature, or adequate consideration for the other and weightier modern authorities opposed to him.

As the latter appears to be the real state of the case, the interests of New Testament science demand of me a reply to Prof. Ramsay's courteous exceptions to my article in the *Expositor* for November, 1899 (Fifth Series, No. lix.), in which I shall aim to defend the substance of all my former positions against Prof. Ramsay's chivalrous, but, I

am convinced, mistaken attempt to vindicate his friends. If I am compelled to declare on documentary evidence that the "affirmation" which "plain reason makes certain" to Prof. Ramsay, viz., that by A.D. 58 or earlier "the first of Nisan was already fixed long before [the ceremonial 'sanctification of the new moon' of Nisan] and known to all Jews in the empire" is positively erroneous, I trust I shall not in the manner of saying show less of courtesy and generosity than my distinguished critic.

Prof. Ramsay is quite right in saying that the chronological principle involved is "important," and that it has been much discussed—though not by English writers—and for the most part only since 1865, the year of publication of Mr. Lewin's *Fasti Sacri*. The question, then, should be clearly understood. It is not whether Jewish rabbis previous to 70 A.D. possessed a certain knowledge of astronomy, including an approximate estimate of the mean lunation, nor even whether, in addition to the purely empirical rules of the Mishna governing the intercalary month, they also possessed and employed a knowledge of the Metonic and other cycles.[1] It has long seemed to me to be highly probable, and, so far as I know, is not denied by any one, that even at this early time the decision of the Sanhedrin as to which years should be lengthened by the addition of the intercalary month, was influenced, though not determined, by astronomical calculation. The first of Tishri (= September–October), the beginning of the civil year, and Purim (14th Adar = February–March) appear to have been the limits within which the decision was made;

[1] The *oktaeteris* or eight-year period (99 lunations=8 solar years) was certainly known. In addition that of Meto, almost certainly; but according to a tradition cited by Lewisohn (*Gesch. u. System d. jüd. Kalenderwesens*, 1856), and Jost (*Gesch. d. Juden*, II. p. 142), the cycle in vogue previous to 70 A.D. was one of 84 (12×7) years. This tradition is corroborated by Epiphanius, but the cycle is defective (it simply adds an *oktaeteris* to the cycle of Calippus of 76 years) and would need frequent checking by observation.

but the testimony of Talmud and Christian fathers alike is explicit that the Sanhedrin reserved the right for centuries after Christ to decide it, and considered other things besides astronomical data in their decision. Still, if the proposition is advanced on *a priori* grounds that Jews throughout the empire "must have been able to" tell, independently of this official decision, which year was to be intercalary, it need not now be disproved, though I think disproof would be easy.[1] It affects the discussion only in a minor way. It is the fixation of the new moon of Nisan, "the Head of the (religious) year," which now concerns us.

Of this too it is obvious that any one who had seen the preceding full moon hanging on the eastern horizon at sunset, and had even a child's knowledge of the duration of the month (*i.e.* lunation) could not fail to know within twenty-four hours or so when the next "new moon" would appear. To this extent, therefore, precalculation was open to everybody. But the question is, whether before 70 A.D. calculation of the phasis had ceased to be such a natural aid to, or check upon, observation, and reduced it to an empty form;[2] so that Jews throughout the empire knew months in advance the very day and hour on which the new religious year, with its cycle of feasts and sacred

[1] Certain general rules existed whose age is hard to fix, *e.g.*, that two consecutive years should not be intercalary, nor the year after a Sabbatical year. But the ultimate grounds for the decision were among the most jealously guarded mysteries (סוד) of the great rabbis, and the decision itself among the most important and cherished prerogatives of a special committee of the Sanhedrin, presided over by the נסיא. Doubtless the convenience of Jews at a distance was consulted by making the decision as to this point as early as possible, but that the Sanhedrin before 70 A.D. had actually abdicated this supreme prerogative in favour of precalculated calendars in general circulation is a bare assertion without better foundation than Wieseler's ill-grounded theories. How it could seriously inconvenience distant Jews not to know until their arrival in Palestine whether the first or second of two alternative days had been officially declared the head of the (religious) year is not apparent.

[2] On the irrationality of inferring that because there was more or less knowledge of the mean lunation, observation had ceased to be the *determinant* factor, see especially Gumpach, *Ueber den altjudischen Kalender, zunächst in seiner Beziehung zur neutestamentlichen Geschichte*, 1848, pp. 117 ff., 137 ff.

seasons, would begin. Is it true that at this period, as Prof. Ramsay puts it, the ceremony of "sanctifying the new moon" of Nisan, "if still preserved, had no practical weight"? Or was the official designation of the Head of the year reserved until actual observation had made the matter certain? If the latter be true, Mr. Lewin's calculations of first Nisan from the fifteenth (*i.e.* the astronomic full moon after the vernal equinox), with a uniform allowance of eighteen hours from conjunction to phasis, will lead us astray, unless guarded after the manner of the tables submitted in my article, and his error is by no means "a mere matter of expression."

Unless all the researches I have been able to make on this subject, both before and after Prof. Ramsay's reply, are worthless, the historical evidence is overwhelming that the decree of "sanctification" waited for actual observation, *calculation* being subsidiary, and not *vice versâ*.[1] In fact, my statement of the case in the words of Prof. Schürer rather than my own, in the first place, was for the very reason that this standard work seemed to state the general verdict of scholars, with the exception of Wieseler and an English follower or two who gave no independent discussion. Whether in adopting the idea of a fixed calendar Mr. Lewin was primarily influenced by the mere *a priori* generalities and irrelevancies adduced in support of this view, or whether his disregard of the Talmudic and pseudepigraphic sources in general, to say nothing of such acknowledged masters as Ideler and Wurm, was intentional and deliberate, did not then seem to me a matter of much importance, nor does it now. A careful revision of his

[1] A single, second-century testimony which has never, to my knowledge, been adduced before, but which I cannot but regard as in itself almost conclusive, may be adduced even here. The Κήρυγμα Πέτρου, as cited by Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* vi. 5), says of the Jews: Καὶ ἐὰν μὴ σελήνη φανῇ σάββατον οὐκ ἄγουσι τὸ λεγόμενον πρῶτον, οὐδὲ νεομηνίαν ἄγουσιν, οὔτε ἄζυμα, οὔτε ἑορτὴν, οὔτε μεγάλην ἡμέραν.

argument in the light of Prof. Ramsay's article leaves me indeed no longer room to doubt; Mr. Lewin's supposed originality on the question of the history of the Jewish calendar disappears entirely. In its place I find only an uncritical dependence on a single somewhat erratic and fanciful German authority,[1] "as usual with many British,[2] and some American, writers," with entire disregard of all ancient Jewish authorities, bare mention of the great specialists in the field, Ideler, Anger, Caspari, and Wurm, and absolute silence as to Gumpach,[3] Lewisohn,[4] and historians such as Jost and Grätz, all of whom had shown the untenableness of Wieseler's position on this point. I appear, then, to have been mistaken as to the sources of Mr. Lewin's misinformation; but I am unable to see that this materially improves the situation for him.

The full consideration which Prof. Ramsay assures us was given by Mr. Lewin to this question has left no signs that I am able to discover. Wieseler, whose arguments he transcribes, published indeed four years after the appearance of Lewin's *Fasti Sacri* an attempt to justify his former extraordinary repudiation of all the evidence of the Talmud and conclusions of Jewish historians and critics.[5] In this essay the attempt is made to prove "dass der 1 Nisan um die Zeit Jesu auf *Berechnung*, nicht auf *Beobachtung* des sichtbaren Neumonds, welche nur die Rechnung regelmässig *bestätigend* hinzukam, beruht hat"; in other words, that the Sanhedrin, even previous to

[1] Wieseler, *Chronological Synopsis*, 1843, translated by Venables, 1857.

[2] Prof. Ramsay is too generous to American writers (who are simply conspicuous by their absence) as compared with British. Nevertheless of the latter the remark is true in this field. Browne's *Ordo Sæclorum* (1844) sets the example of precipitate assumption or dependence on Wieseler followed by Lewin. Of Mr. Turner, who goes the same road even further, we shall speak presently.

[3] *Op. cit.* [4] *Geschichte und System des jüd. Kalenderwesens*, 1856.

[5] *Beiträge zur richtigen Würdigung der Evangelien*, 1869: Abt. xi., *Ueber die Form des jüdischen Jahres.*

70 A.D., were accustomed *first* to make official and public announcement of their results, and *afterwards* take their observations; a method which, however popular in modern times and in other branches than astronomy, cannot justly be imputed to this shrewd and conservative council. But I cannot find that Lewin has given any consideration whatever to the Jewish sources. How completely inadequate was Wieseler's proof may be imagined from the appeal made to the currency of calculated calendars among the Hellenists of Alexandria, the heretical sect of the Dostân,[1] and among the Samaritans (!), together with an attempt to show that "Enoch" advocates a year of 365¼ days,[2] with a calendar of his own, "Jubilees" another, and that *therefore* the Sanhedrin (to whom all these writings were accurst) must have also relied upon a fixed precalculated calendar![3]

This is one of the points in which Prof. Ramsay finds me guilty of "assumption" where Lewin and other English writers had decided "after full consideration."

But besides my having regarded the quotation from Schürer (with a comprehensive reference to "the whole excursus,"[4] including the authorities cited) as "the only support necessary to bring forward" on this point, Prof.

[1] See Petermann, art. "Samaria" in Herzog's *Realencycl.*, 1st. ed., p. 387.

[2] See, however, R. H. Charles, *The Book of Enoch*, 1893, p. 191.

[3] For the matter of intercalating the supplementary month it would be, *but for the records*, supposable enough that the Sanhedrin depended exclusively on some current and publicly known cycle, *e.g.*, that of eighty-four years. But to affirm their fixation of the *new moons* by precalculation is simply astounding. The variations in length of the lunation at different seasons are so complex as to baffle even expert astronomers. And the Sanhedrin had not only a special sacrifice to institute for each new moon, which must coincide with its actual appearance (Κήρυγμα Πέτρου, *ibid.*), but if Purim and Passover had failed to fall upon the observed full moon, their humiliation would have been irretrievable. To suppose that they employed a calendar like that of "Enoch" or "Jubilees" with a fixed month, assumes that they had wholly abandoned the idea of making the feasts agree with the phases of the moon.

[4] Schürer, *History of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ*, I. ii.: Appendix III., "The Jewish and Macedonian Months Compared with the Julian Calendar."

Ramsay suggests that I may be misinterpreting even Schürer. "The German professor speaks only of 'the time of Jesus Christ'; Prof. Bacon applies the assertion to a year that he fixes as probably A.D. 58."

It need not be supposed that Prof. Ramsay has any prejudice against German authorities in general, or Schürer in particular; but for some reason he writes without acquainting himself with the contents of this important excursus. Otherwise he would have seen that to Schürer the question whether the Jews at the time in debate "possessed a fixed calendar" (*for their religious year*), or "arranged their months according to purely empirical observation, beginning a new month only when a new moon had been actually observed and reported by eye-witnesses to the Sanhedrin,"[1] is not a question of a year or two, nor of a decade or two in A.D. 20–70. It is a question of centuries. The very next paragraph begins: "Even in the age of the Mishna, *in the second Christian century*, this (a fixed duration for the months) cannot have been the case; for the whole legislation of the Mishna rests on the presupposition that the new month, without previous reckoning, was begun each time upon the new moon becoming visible. So soon as the appearance of the new moon was proved by credible witnesses before the competent court at Jerusalem, *and later at Jamnia*, the new moon was solemnized, and, after all the rites had been observed, messengers were sent in order to notify the opening of the

[1] This statement of what Prof. Ramsay designated "the assumption made by Prof. Bacon" requires some modification in order to fairly present the case. Thus the word "purely" is unwarranted. I have not maintained, nor do I, that "the witnesses of the moon" did not assist the naked eye by astronomical means. On the contrary, these dishonourable practices were expressly guarded against by Gamaliel II., *ca.* 100 A.D., by cross-examination of the witnesses, to make sure that there had been actual observation. As to the supposed possibility that the beginning of the month might be indefinitely postponed on account of non-appearance of the witnesses," see Prof. Ramsay's admission on p. 437.

new month. So, at least, was it done during the six months in which it was of importance on account of the existence of any festival: in Nisan on account of the Passover . . ." etc.

The next paragraph begins: "The system of intercalation [of the supplementary month] was not fixed even in the second century after Christ," and the proposition is demonstrated at length from the Mishna. Further on we have: "The very complicated later Jewish calendar, calculated upon the nineteen years' (Metonic) cycle, is said to have been introduced by the patriarch Hillel *in the fourth century after Christ*. Although this is not witnessed to with absolute certainty, it is not improbable."

The reader will pardon, under the circumstances, citations at length which I had supposed to be made needless by the comprehensive reference in the article criticised. It will not be seriously maintained in view of the above that I was not justified in giving to Schürer's words "in the time of Jesus Christ" a sense which would include A.D. 50–60. Surely it is not now necessary to prove that this is not "the only support" I have to offer for my contention, by quoting at equal length from Ideler, Wurm, Dillmann, Zuckermann, Hamburger, Mahler, and others referred to by Schürer. Should Prof. Ramsay care to be assured that my convictions on the question of the Jewish calendar in the first century were not formed according to the borrowing method which he rightly deprecates, I can refer him to two articles of mine entitled respectively "Chronology of the Account of the Flood in P: a Contribution to the History of the Jewish Calendar"; and "The Calendar System of Enoch and Jubilees," in *Hebraica*, volume viii., October, 1891–July, 1892, pages 79–88 and 124–130, which are indeed crude enough, but will serve to show an acquaintance with the real authorities. I do not, however, regard it as commendable that I was ignorant at the time, not

only of Schürer's excursus, then very recent, but of the fact that both Saalschütz and Wieseler had already called attention to the phenomena which had struck me.[1] The knowledge evinced of the actual history of the Jewish calendar is slight indeed, yet perhaps, for the question now in hand, as important as the much more valuable and extensive researches of Prof. Ramsay into the contemporary Græco-Roman calendars, which the Jewish conservative regarded as sacrilegious. It was at least sufficient to show me at a later time that Schürer's statement of the facts is in all essential particulars unassailable, and that the idea of the Sanhedrin "getting the calculations made beforehand, and fixing the first of Nisan for each year, so that it should be known in time throughout the whole Jewish race over all the Roman world," though something little less absurd was once advocated by the brilliant Wieseler, really deserves in our day no more than the general reference given to "the whole excursus of Schürer," no matter how many truly able English scholars may successively have followed a blind German guide into the ditch. But Prof. Ramsay is greatly taken with the style of reasoning on this point in Mr. Turner's article "Chronology," in the *Hastings Bible Dictionary*. "Mr. Turner holds that they [the Jews] had adopted some pre-arranged system before A.D. 58. So does Mr. Lewin. We believe that they are right in this respect, and that Prof. Bacon has gone wrong. Prof. Bacon assumes," etc. We have indeed in Prof. Turner's otherwise admirable article a very copious and confident use of the *a priori* argument so strong in the eyes of Prof. Ramsay:

[1] The attempt is made to trace a relationship between the calendar system of the Priestly Document of the Hexateuch on the one hand, and the fixed lunisolar calendar systems, having a uniform month of thirty days or alternating months of thirty and twenty-nine days, advocated on the basis of *Genesis* by these Palestinian writers of B.C. 90–A.D. 70, in fierce opposition to the empirical lunar system of the Sanhedrin on the other. Cf. Saalschütz, *Mosaisches Recht*, 2nd ed., 1853, pp. 396 ff., and Wieseler, *Beiträge*, p. 296, v. 2.

"the Jews must before this have modified the method of simple observation by something in the nature of a calendar or cycle." But when the question becomes one of actual fact, Mr. Turner supplies us indeed under the head of "Literature" with a general reference to Ideler's *Handbuch* "for all the preliminary chronological matter which underlies subjects such as that of this article," with subsidiary reference to Wieseler (*Chronol. Synops. der Evang.*), but he appears blissfully unaware that his chief authorities are flatly against his argument. He inquires (as even Wieseler would not), "But what was to happen when observation (of the new moon) was impossible? Was the new month to be put off as long as every night happened to be cloudy?" Just as if in the times of the Mishna such a contingency had never arisen or been provided for![1] Precisely the same *a priori* argument, largely reproduced by Prof. Ramsay from the supposedly unforeseen inconveniences of an empiric calendar, is employed to show that, "as with the month, so also for the commencement of each year, a systematic calendar must soon have replaced simple observation, for strangers from the Dispersion could not visit Jerusalem for the Passover unless they knew beforehand whether a thirteenth month were to be intercalated or not." But the actual rules by which the method of intercalation *was* governed, with only subsidiary employment of astronomical calculation, and the very case supposed of Jews at a distance from Jerusalem *was* met, are treated as if they did not exist![2]

Just one scrap of historical evidence is adduced, borrowed,

[1] But see Prof. Ramsay's own extract from my article on p. 437.

[2] There is not so much as the mention of one Jewish source on the whole subject of the calendar. We should not know from Mr. Turner's article that there was such a thing as the Mishna, nor that the calendar discussions which occupied so large a place in Jewish history during the first three centuries of our era had ever been treated by modern scholars. Neither Schürer, nor any of the host of authorities cited by him on this subject, is mentioned.

it would seem, from Lewin, who, in turn, has borrowed it from Wieseler;[1] but for this one we have peculiar occasion to be grateful, inasmuch as its true bearing is precisely in the opposite direction from that in which Prof. Turner endeavours to employ it. Anatolius of Laodicea (A.D. 277, ap. Eus. *H.E.* vii. 32) urging determination of the Passover (*i.e.* Easter) by an astronomical system, denounces certain ones who, "disregarding the equinoctial limit, erroneously took for the paschal month what was really not the first month of one year, but the last of the preceding (*i.e.*, failed to intercalcate Veadar where *astronomically* required), and that against the testimony of the old Jewish authorities, Philo, Josephus, Musæus, and, still earlier, the two Agathobuli and Aristobulus." As Mr. Turner rightly says, "The evidence of various fourth-century writers makes it all but certain that they were the Jews of his day. . . . Chrysostom (A.D. 387) appeals from the contemporary Jews, *and their neglect of the equinox*, to their wise men of antiquity—Philo, Josephus, Musæus, and others." Had Mr. Turner familiarized himself with the history of the long struggle of the Hellenizers of various types to introduce various calendars, based on *calculation of the equinox* against the determined (and really wise) conservatism of the Sanhedrin, with its ancient observational system, he would have been no less ready to believe that in Alexandria even a century before Christ there were those who urged dependence on the equinox for the intercalation of Veadar. Why not, since the author of *Enoch* lxxii.–lxxxii. (50 B.C.?) attempts to introduce his peculiar calendar based on a complete astronomic system (equinoxes, solstices, cycles), with a year of 364 days (52 weeks), and intercalations in the third, fifth, and eighth years?[2] But he would not have inferred

[1] *Chron. Synopsis*, pp. 401–436; compare *Fasti Sacri*, pp. xxxvi.–xliv.

[2] We may accept Wieseler's argument for a year of $365\frac{1}{4}$ days as the basis of this calendar (*Beiträge*, pp. 293 ff.) without adopting the illogical inference as to the use of a fixed calendar *by the Sanhedrin*.

from it that the Sanhedrin, "before A.D. 29," had already abandoned their safe and carefully guarded observational system in favour of such crude attempts, at once destroying one of the most cherished of their own prerogatives[1] and producing overwhelming confusion with the sacred seasons. Doubtless there were Hellenistic Jewish philosophers at Alexandria, even before Philo's day, with calendars of their own, as there certainly were in Samaria and in Judæa. It may very well have been for just this reason that in the Mishna special exception is made of Alexandria as a city whither the messengers of the new year are not to be sent. But the Sanhedrin would not only have been wildly Hellenistic and radical to the point of iconoclasm if it had adopted any of their calendars, but guilty of suicidal folly.

There came indeed a time when calculation could fairly boast of being more trustworthy than empiric observation, and that is the time of Anatolius and Chrysostom, when Christians could taunt the conservative Jews with still clinging to their antiquated empiric system and "neglecting the equinoxes," in spite of their own Alexandrian sages, with the result that they were liable to celebrate the Passover "twice in one year" (by failure to intercalate Veadar). But these very taunts are an added proof *from Christian sources* that the Mishna is right in its representation that the empiric system was still clung to by orthodox Judaism down to *ca.* 400 A.D.

It is indeed unfortunate, in more than one sense, that I cannot refer Prof. Ramsay to English writers for a knowledge of this history. I hope this is not due to my ignorance. There is Selden, *Diss. de anno civili Judæorum;* Caspari (*Chronol. and Geogr. Introd.*, p. 10 f.) Schürer (*op. cit.*); and Von Soden (article "Chronology" in Cheyne's

[1] No one knows better than Prof. Ramsay the struggles required in Rome to displace the prerogative of the pontiffs by the introduction of the Julian calendar.

Encycl. Bibl., § 55). But all of these but one are Germans, and *all* are opposed to the view into which Browne, Lewin, and Turner seem successively to have been misled by Wieseler. But that we may not run the risk of citing "pre-Mommsenian" authorities, reference is best made to the complete and learned discussion of the whole subject in the recent (1896) edition of Hamburger's *Real-encyclopädie des Judenthums*, Abt. 2, *Talmud und Midrash*, article "Kalender," pp. 608–628.

But Prof. Ramsay finds me guilty of two further injustices, first to Mr. Turner by my remarkable silence as to his article. This I trust may be somewhat atoned for by the present somewhat detailed discussion of what seems to me the great blemish on an otherwise able and scholarly article, which gave me great pleasure when it appeared by the closeness of its approximation to my own results. The explanation is simple. I could not make use of the article, for the reason that my own articles had already been in the hands of the editor of the EXPOSITOR for many months and in corrected proof for a considerable time, when Prof. Turner's article appeared. They remained in the same limbo for eighteen months longer, awaiting, as the editor kindly explained to me, an opportunity when the pressure on the columns of the EXPOSITOR from Prof. Ramsay's pen should be intermitted.

As to Mr. Lewin, Prof. Ramsay objects that I have treated it as a fault "that he has generally placed the first day of Nisan twenty-four hours too early." In reply Prof. Ramsay says, "Prof. Bacon assumes the point" and urges that Mr. Turner holds "that possibly, or even probably, Mr. Lewin places first Nisan too late." As Mr. Turner represents a still further stage of divergence from the real authorities, it is not surprising that he outdoes Mr. Lewin as much as Mr. Lewin outdoes Wieseler.[1] But Prof.

[1] Mr. Lewin's reduction by one-half of Wurm's estimate (adopted by Wieseler)

Ramsay is hardly fair in the statement that "Prof. Bacon takes it as obvious that Wurm must be right in requiring an average of at least thirty-six hours between the strict astronomical new moon and the sanctification, for which Lewin allows but eighteen," where express reference is made to the "mass of testimony, ancient and modern, accumulated by Wurm" on this point. It may be well to add that Prof. Bacon took the pains to inquire of the professor of astronomy at Yale as to the trustworthiness of Wurm's conclusion, and learned that the rabbinic twenty-seven and a half hours allowed between conjunction and phasis was decidedly an underestimate. It is for this reason that I hold that Mr. Lewin was *not* justified in disregarding both Wurm and the rabbis, and reducing the time to "an average of eighteen hours between the strict astronomical new moon and the 'sanctification,'" and that it is not on this side of the case that "assumption" is chargeable.

In conclusion I desire to express again my appreciation of the great courtesy of Prof. Ramsay, and no less sincerely my respect for the learning and services both of himself and of the able English scholars whom he defends. I have felt compelled to point out in this particular field an apparent lack of acquaintance on their part with the history of the Jewish calendar, whose sources are mostly hidden in the recesses of the Talmud. It should not be inferred that I do not admire their work as a whole, and, so far as concerns Prof. Ramsay's dislike of those who depend on a single German writer, or depend on others who do, a practice unfortunately even more common with American than with British writers, I judge that he will see from my reply how heartily I agree with him.

B. W. Bacon.

of thirty-six hours, appears to be on the basis of Browne's *Ordo Sæclorum*, p. 469, § 417, but Browne gives no other reason than the favourable climate of Palestine.

A POINT IN THE CHRISTOLOGY OF FIRST CORINTHIANS.

Canon Liddon, in one of his Bampton Lectures, says: "The faith, delivered once for all, had been given to the Church in its completeness by the Apostles. But the finished intellectual survey and treatment of the faith is a superadded acquirement; it is the result of conflict with a hostile criticism, and of devout reflections matured under the guidance of the Spirit of truth. . . . Heresy indirectly contributed to form the Church's mind: it gave point and sharpness to current conceptions of truth by its mutilations and denials; it illustrated the fatal tendencies of novel lines of speculation, or even of misleading terms; it unwittingly forced on an elucidation of the doctrines of the Church by its subtle and varied opposition."

The idea here expressed is a familiar one. To those who take exception to this or that expression in the Creed we are able to point out that the addition of each and every defining phrase, which to those who have had no theological training may seem needless or even unmeaning, was not due to the gratuitous perversity of the Church, but rather was forced on the Church by the subtlety of inquiring minds. "Heresy indirectly contributed to form the Church's mind." This forming of the Church's mind, or the gradual definition of doctrine, is moreover usually assigned to the ages subsequent to the close of the New Testament canon. It would be irrelevant here to discuss the question as to the possibility of fixing a limit to this process of doctrinal evolution, but all orthodox theologians, I think, would agree with the opening words of the above quotation from Canon Liddon: "The faith, delivered once for all, had been given to the Church in its completeness by the Apostles." That is to say, all the decisions of later

councils are only explanations or systematic arrangements of statements in Scripture. This is certainly the teaching of the Anglican Church. In one of her Articles it is distinctly stated that the reason why "the Three Creeds ought thoroughly to be received and believed" is because "they may be proved by most certain warrants of holy Scripture." A similar finality is asserted, at least in theory, by the Roman Church for the teaching of the Apostles. The Roman theory cannot be better expressed than it is by Father Clarke in the *Nineteenth Century* for February. "Christ bequeathed to the Church a body of dogma, clear, definite, and unmistakable, which was to be the substance of all its future teaching. This sacred deposit He placed in the hands of His twelve Apostles. After the death of the last of them no sort of addition was to be made to it." Father Clarke indeed assures his readers that the doctrines of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin and of Papal Infallibility were included in this original and unalterable body of dogma. The fact, however, remains that by the general consent of the Christian Church what we may call creative inspiration in matters doctrinal ceased with the Apostles. Their teaching bears the same relation to the theology of subsequent ages that the phenomena of nature do to the systematized conclusions of scientific investigators.

But although this is so, yet it is possible to trace within the pages of the New Testament something of the same "development by explanation" which we are wont to restrict to the ages of the councils, and to the times when the Holy Spirit works in the Church by ordinary means. I do not mean that the creed of the year 33 A.D., if it had been formulated, would have differed in essentials from the creed of the year 100 A.D., but that certain secondary matters of doctrine, certain corollaries of fundamental tenets, owe their expression in the New Testament, and

consequently their place in systems of theology, to controversies current in apostolic times. And this is the case not only with regard to matters of temporary interest, such as the obligation of the Mosaic Law, but also with regard to certain aspects of the Person and work of our Lord Jesus Christ, all of which are, of course, of permanent importance. Take, for example, the whole conception of the high-priestly work of Christ, His finished sacrifice, His unceasing priestly intercession in the heavenly sanctuary, which is so exhaustively elaborated in the Epistle to the Hebrews. The promulgation of this doctrine in that form was immediately due to the danger of a relapse into Judaism on the part of some Hebrew Christians, we know not how numerous or how important. This occasional enunciation of Christian doctrine is peculiarly noteworthy in the writings of St. Paul. When we read his Epistles, we are struck by the great variety of conceptions of the Person and work of the Lord Jesus Christ which seem to have impressed themselves upon his mind; and careful study frequently reveals to us that these different aspects of Christ and of His functions were suggested apparently to St. Paul by the practical or ethical lesson that was under consideration at the time. To take one example: There are few phrases which have had a greater influence in directing the trend of modern theological thought than the words by which St. Paul, in the Epistle to the Philippians, characterizes the Incarnation. "Christ Jesus," he says, "emptied Himself"—ἑαυτὸν ἐκένωσε. Volumes have been written, and probably will be written, on *the kenosis*; and yet this momentous expression occurs quite casually in the letter, not in a formal disquisition on the Incarnation, but in the course of the enforcement of a practical lesson. St. Paul has been inculcating on the Philippians the duty of the cultivation of the Christian grace of humility, "in lowliness of mind each counting other better than himself."

There then rises to his mind the great example and model of humility, and this almost accidental mention of the Lord Jesus is providentially made the occasion of theological statements of vast importance. "Have this mind in you, which was also in Christ Jesus: who, being in the form of God, counted it not a prize to be on an equality with God, but emptied Himself, taking the form of a servant, being made in the likeness of men." The modern student, as he reads these words, thinks almost exclusively of the inferences that have been drawn from them by Christian thinkers. St. Paul, we may be sure, was seeking rather to impress on his readers the example of Christ's condescension than to make a contribution to dogmatic theology.

This is only one of many examples that might be adduced in illustration of the fact that the various aspects of the Divine Person of Christ, and the language in which those aspects are expressed to us, are often conditioned by the topics, ethical or practical, which happened at the time to be chiefly occupying the thoughts of the writer.

Let us now turn to the First Epistle to the Corinthians, and try if this principle will afford us any assistance in explaining one of its peculiarities.

If we read the Epistle with a view to gathering from it passages bearing on the Person of Christ, we are at once struck by the fact that in this letter the Catholic doctrine of the "subordination," as it is technically called, of God the Son to God the Father is more strongly and unmistakably expressed than in any other book of the New Testament.

This "subordination," which by no means implies either inferiority of nature, or posteriority in origin, is indicated in the wording of the Nicene Creed, "Light of Light, very God of very God"—the Son being begotten of the unoriginate and self-existent Father

The doctrine in question is no doubt conveyed elsewhere in the New Testament, as in our Lord's own words, recorded by St. John, "the Father is greater than I"; or in the phrase found more than once in the Epistles, "the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ." But these phrases are by no means so striking as three that occur in First Corinthians. First we have the grand climax with which the third chapter closes: "All are yours; and ye are Christ's; and Christ is God's." Again in the eleventh chapter, where St. Paul is regulating the attire of women in public worship, "But I would have you know, that the head of every man is Christ; and the head of the woman is the man; and the head of Christ is God." And, lastly, in the fifteenth chapter, where the Apostle turns seer, and transports us to the end of time, and a revelation, far more remarkable than any in the Apocalypse, is given us of the future mutual relations of the Persons of the Godhead, "And when all things have been subjected unto Him, then shall the Son also Himself be subjected to Him that did subject all things unto Him, that God may be all in all."

In view of these passages it must be confessed that if the First Epistle to the Corinthians were the only extant work of St. Paul, if we had to judge from this Epistle alone, it would not be easy to deny that his beliefs as to the Person of Christ differed considerably from those held by St. John. It is true that the general mental attitude of the Apostle towards the Lord Jesus, throughout the Epistle, implies a conviction of the Divinity of the Saviour. But these three passages at once arrest attention, and although they are quite in harmony with the Catholic faith when set forth in its completeness, yet they could be easily strained to favour an Arian interpretation. They mark, in fact, the extreme limit of the Catholic faith on the tide where it most nearly approaches Arianism, just as another phrase of St. Paul's, "Our great God and Saviour Jesus Christ," may be taken

as marking the extreme limit on the other side, where it borders on Sabellianism.

We now naturally ask ourselves why these emphatic and startling assertions of the subordination of God the Son to God the Father should be found in First Corinthians particularly. We have already seen that the varying aspects in which the Person and work of Christ are brought before us in St. Paul's Epistles have a relation more or less close to the topics which were occupying the Apostle's mind at the time.

In the present case there does not seem at first sight any connexion between the doctrine of the subordination of the Son to the Father, and the context in which each several statement occurs. The expressions "Christ is God's," and "the head of Christ is God," and that about the future subjection of the Son to the Father, might each be removed from their respective contexts without any injury to the argument. The climax in each case would be impoverished, but that is all. Now this suggests to us that there must have been some undercurrent in the writer's mind to account for the appearance, one might almost say the intrusion, of these statements. This disturbing influence, I believe, will be found in the peculiar heresy on the resurrection of the dead which seems to have been held by some of the Corinthian Christians. We gather from this Epistle that some professing Christians, while they admitted that Christ had risen from the dead, yet found a great difficulty in believing that they themselves would rise. The intellectual difficulties that haunt our minds also haunted theirs, "How are the dead raised? and with what manner of body do they come? Others again, as we learn from the Pastoral Epistles, supplemented this negative scepticism with a positive mysticism, "saying that the resurrection is past already," this resurrection being the metaphorical or spiritual one indicated by St. John when he says, "We know that we have passed

out of death into life because we love the brethren," a resurrection which is effected potentially at our baptism and realized in our daily renovation, the resurrection for which we pray when we say, "We meekly beseech Thee, O Father, to raise us from the death of sin unto the life of righteousness." This was the only resurrection looked for by these early heretics.

It is, however, most important to remember that with all this mystic scepticism they seem to have admitted the literal truth of the resurrection of Christ. St. Paul lays special emphasis on this point in the opening words of his disquisition on the subject. "Now I make known unto you, brethren, the gospel which I preached unto you, which also ye received"; and he closes his enumeration of the appearances of the risen Lord with the words, "So we preach, and so ye believed."

The argument which follows turns chiefly on the logical inconsistency between belief in the past resurrection of Christ and disbelief in the future resurrection of the dead. "Now, if Christ is preached that He hath been raised from the dead, how say some among you that there is no resurrection of the dead? But if there is no resurrection of the dead, neither hath Christ been raised." The two positions seemed to St. Paul utterly inconsistent. And yet it is to be feared that amongst those who worship in our churches now there are some who, though they do not talk about it, take precisely the same view. On the one hand they see clearly enough that the evidence that Jesus Christ rose from the dead the third day is as convincing, to say the least, as that for any acknowledged historical fact. The evidence, indeed, is the greatest possible. But, on the other hand, another part of their brain is ever listening to the haunting question, "How are the dead raised? and with what manner of body do they come?" After a certain number of years an opened grave discloses absolutely

nothing that can be recognised as a particle of a human body. Nothing is more absolutely certain than that the matter of which our bodies are composed is resolved after our death into the common matter of the universe. The physical fact, with all its horror and pathos, strikes the imagination, all the more that we shrink from it; and unless it be overbalanced by a strong faith in the promises of God, and by a vivid realization of the unseen, there is a great danger lest it should silently eliminate a belief in our own rising again from the dead from the number of our practical working beliefs. Those who are thus affected are, however, quite sincere when they repeat in the Creed, "The third day He rose again from the dead." If, then, they were asked to reconcile their serious misgivings as to their own resurrection with their historical belief in the resurrection of Christ, I imagine that those who had thought the matter out would reply, Christ stands on a quite different level from us ordinary men and women. Christ, they would say, was God incarnate, miracles surrounded Him from His Conception to His Ascension. I can easily believe of Him what I cannot believe of myself. Now it is this very way of looking at the matter, unconsciously felt or consciously expressed, that St. Paul deals with in the fifteenth chapter of First Corinthians. And St. Paul meets it by insisting on the fact that Christ's humanity is in the same order of being as ours: "If there is no resurrection of the dead, neither hath Christ been raised." . . . "we witnessed of God that He raised up Christ: whom He raised not up, if so be that the dead are not raised. For if the dead are not raised, neither hath Christ been raised." . . . "Since by man came death, by man came also the resurrection of the dead." It will thus be seen that the reality of Christ's humanity is the keystone of the argument. It was Christ's humanity that was raised from the dead, and that human nature is identical with ours. You cannot

therefore logically admit the truth of the resurrection of Christ, and at the same time disbelieve in the possibility of your own, on the ground that Christ as man belongs to a different order of being.

It is noteworthy that, whereas the Creeds always say of our Lord that "He rose again from the dead" as though it were by His own Divine power, which is indeed most true, and in accordance with His own words, "Destroy this temple, and in three days I will raise it up"; "I have power to lay down My life, and I have power to take it again"; yet St. Paul almost always, as here, speaks of Christ as having been raised from the dead. Thus in an earlier portion of the Epistle he says, "God both raised the Lord, and will raise up us through His power," co-ordinating, as in the fifteenth chapter, the resurrection of Christ and that of ordinary human beings.

Now, although the subordination of God the Son to God the Father is a fact in the eternal relations of the Divine Persons, and is quite independent of the Incarnation, yet it would be naturally suggested by an argument based on the dependence of the Son, as incarnate, on His heavenly Father. And when we read the fifteenth chapter, and observe St. Paul's earnestness, his evident conviction that Christianity stands or falls with belief in the future resurrection of the dead, we cannot doubt that, although other topics are first dealt with, yet the Corinthian heresy on the resurrection was present, painfully present, to his mind all along, and that the line of argument by which he proposed to confute that heresy was present too, and unconsciously influenced his thoughts, even when dealing with quite other topics. His argument in chapter xv. would lead him to regard Christ as the first among many brethren, all sons of one Father, rather than as "the image of the invisible God" in whom were all things created, and in whom all things consist. This is the reason, I believe, why such strong

statements of the subordination of the Son to the Father recur again and again.

We may not be able in our present state to make any practical use of what has been revealed to us concerning the mutual relations of the Persons of the Blessed Trinity; but there can be no doubt as to the preciousness of the truth which underlies the argument which St. Paul opposed to the doubters at Corinth. The Lord Jesus Christ really became man, and is man still. His human nature was and is identical with ours. "Since, then, the children are sharers in flesh and blood, He also Himself in like manner partook of the same, that through death He might bring to nought him that had the power of death." "God both raised the Lord," with a body the same, yet wondrously glorified, "and will raise up us through His power," no longer "bare grain," but with bodies such as it will please God to give us. Our hopes and our expectations are not, need not be, quite vague and undefined. His human nature, which is our human nature, has been exalted, ennobled, glorified, and to us poor, weak, sin-soiled creatures He has given a promise and a pledge of a like exaltation. A marvellous evolution indeed, a fixed point for the eye of faith to gaze on, an ever-widening vista of illimitable possibilities. For He "shall fashion anew the body of our humiliation that it may be conformed to the body of His glory," "the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ."

NEWPORT J. D. WHITE.

LINES OF DEFENCE OF THE BIBLICAL REVELATION.

III. Unity against Plurality.

B. Job (*continued*).

The Arabs were great astronomers, and the references to Arabic astronomy in the book of Job are very curious. Very early poets[1] show themselves acquainted with the elaborate system of star-naming which the writers on astronomy explain to us. In Job xxxviii. 31 the sufferer is asked if he can (or did) tie the bonds of the Pleiads, and in the following verse if he can console[2] the Great Bear over her children? These questions would be easily understood by an Arab. To him the Pleiads are typical of union, the stars of the Great Bear of separation. A writer begins a letter:[3] "I am to-night united with my companions like the Pleiads, but if you do not encourage our union by a present of wine we shall separate again like the daughters of Na'sh (the stars of the Great Bear)." "I pray God," says an elegant writer,[4] "that we may meet in a way that will resemble the union of the Pleiads in constancy." The same author says in a poem,[5] "The Pleiads have stretched westwards a hand in whose fingers the wager is locked," on which we are told that according to the Arabs the Pleiads consist of two hands, called respectively the Painted Hand and the Amputated Hand, the former appearing to be spread out, and the latter closed. In Job iv. 9 it is said of mankind that they dwell in houses of clay, and are destroyed "before the Great Bear"—a phrase which the next verse shows to be equivalent to "constantly," "incessantly." This reminds us of another verse of the same

[1] *Jamharah* of Abu Zaid, p. 154.
[2] I assume in these articles that the Massoretic pointing is of little authority.
[3] *Matali' al-budūr*, i. 158.
[4] *Letters* of Abu 'l-'Ala, p. 54, 6.
[5] *Sakt al-zand* (Cairo, 1286 A.H.), i. 50.

poet,[1] where he complains "Thou hast left me, albeit I am constant like the Great Bear"; and our commentator tells us that this constellation does not rise and set like the others, but "merely revolves round the North Pole without crossing the sky." Hence the qualities of constancy and stationariness are attributed to it, as when a poet says (in illustration of the fact that a large family hinders promotion), "See the sun who is solitary can cross the height of heaven, whereas the father of the 'daughters of Na'sh' remains low down." Of the stars which constitute the constellation three were called Na'sh and four Na'sh's sons.[2] A German scholar has rightly remarked that the name Na'sh is the same as the word in Job with the article prefixed.

In xxxviii. 15 among the effects of the dawn we read that "the wicked are precluded from their light, and the lofty arm is broken." The second clause is easily intelligible. There is a constellation called "the Arm," *i.e.* the Lion's Arm.[3] The word "broken" for "dulled" is chosen in order to suit the subject. "The wicked" must of course mean some stars or constellations; the text indicates that both here and in verse 13, "and the wicked are shaken thereat," the first letter of the word for "wicked" is either corrupt or misplaced. Perhaps therefore we should read the *'Arshes*, *i.e.* two constellations called *'Arsh* or "the Throne." The verb "to be shaken" is perhaps as natural with this name as "to be broken" with the "Arm." There is a famous line in which a poet declares that the Throne of God shook the day his uncle died.[4]

With the style of the above verses we may compare some lines[5] of a poet who has already been cited. "The country," he says, "has been watered by the Lion's Arm

[1] *Sakt al-zand* (Cairo, 1286 A.H.), ii. 32.

[2] So in old poetry; the alteration of "sons" to "daughters" is due to a grammatical theory.

[3] Kazwini, *Wonders of Creation* (Cairo, 1309 A.H.), i. 78.

[4] *Letters* of Abu 'l-Ala, p. 92, 10.

[5] *Sakt al-zand*, ii. 106.

with all his might, till not one finger's breadth is left. The *Simak* ('Spica') has thrust it through with its javelin, and the ropes that hold the Watering-pot have been cut over the country whereon the Pleiads shed copious tears." The old theory is said to have been that rain was due to the "Mansions of the Moon."

Job xxxviii. 31 *b*: "Canst thou undo the ropes of K'sil?" is in the same style. There is a constellation called "the Holder of the reins,"[1] and the author of the verse in Job seems to count on his readers being familiar with this appellation. The next question, "Canst thou bring out Mazaroth at his time?" must imply some similar knowledge; the name that resembles this most is the Arabic *Majarrat,* ordinarily used for the Milky Way. There is an old proverb, "Take the middle, O Majarrah, and the dates of Hajar will ripen."[2] The time then at which Mazaroth should come out was probably an important epoch of this sort. The dates of Hajar were famous throughout Arabia. Perhaps, then, the time referred to in this verse is the time when they should ripen.

In vii. 12 Job asks of God, "Am I a sea or a sea-monster that Thou dost set a guard upon me?" Certain stars or constellations were regarded as the *watchers* of others;[3] the theory appears not only in the Arabic astrology, but also in Homer. The "Sea-monster" is actually the name of a constellation; and in the case of one called "the Sea-monster's belly" we are told the name of its "watcher."[4] The "Sea" is probably the constellation called by the Arabs "the River."

The same source illustrates some mythological allusions in the book. In xxvi. 12 and 13, some of the deeds of God are enumerated: "By His wisdom He crushed Rahab, by

[1] *Wonders of Creation*, i. 57. It is not certain that this name is old.
[2] *Lisan al-Arab*, s.v. "majarrah."
[3] *Wonders of Creation*, passim.
[4] *Ibid.* i. 87.

His breath the heavens are cleared, and His hand transfixed *Nachash Bariach.*" These words are often rendered "crooked serpent"; but it is more likely that they are to be regarded as proper names, taken from the old mythology. Indeed they seem fairly easy to identify. The term *nahs* (the equivalent of the Hebrew *nachash*) is applied to two planets, both supposed to bring ill luck, Saturn and Mars; and the latter of these is called in Arabic *Mirrikh*, which, by the alteration of the first letter to B (a change noticed above in the case of Bildad) becomes Bariach. The word *nahs* is said to mean darkness, and especially that caused by particles of dust in the air. The brightness of the heavens is therefore in this myth attributed to a wound dealt to Nahs Mirrikh, who would have darkened them. Those who curse the day, according to Job iii. 8, do it by rousing Leviathan, whom Isaiah (xxvii. 1) identifies with Nachash Bariach. The prefixing of the name Nachash to the proper name of the planet is precisely similar to the prefixing of the word *Sa'd* (which means "of good omen") to a number of other stars.[1] The identity of the names Nahs Mirrikh and Nachash Bariach, together with the ascription of darkness to the influence of the latter, seems sufficient to justify us in thinking we have here the solution of the difficulty. Hence it is an admissible conjecture that Rahab signifies the other Nahs, *i.e.* Saturn; and indeed the Arabic name for Saturn (*Zuhal*) seems to mean the same as Rahab.

Among the primitive superstitions of the Arabs were those connected with the Jinn, whose name implies that they were hidden from mortal view. To them both poets and prophets owed their information. Apparently the same Jinn ordinarily inspired the same individual throughout his life, and at the death of one favourite migrated into another. To those favourites they sometimes appeared in dreams.

[1] *Wonders of Creation*, Index.

Their information was not always trustworthy, and it was obtained in a dishonourable way. "Certain persons," we read in Surah lxxvii. of the Koran, "used to rely on certain Jinn," who, however, only increased their uncertainty with regard to God's purposes. They used to station themselves somewhere whence they could listen to the divine councils; but in future, according to the Surah, any Jinn who tried to do this would find a shooting-star on the look out for him. This strange theory is represented by Eliphaz in the book of Job. "Hast thou listened in the council of God, and got thyself wisdom?" he asks of Job in xv. 8. This would be the natural way of acquiring knowledge of God's plans according to him, and indeed he owed his own acquaintance with them to a similar operation. "Unto me was a word *stolen*," he boasts in iv. 12, "and my ear took in a rumour[1] thereof." Doubtless a Jinn had stolen it, and indeed this Jinn communicated it to Eliphaz in the visions of the night. Eliphaz was unable to scan the features of the Jinn closely; one who appeared to Ibn Duraid[2] (according to his statement) and communicated some verses, was "tall, yellow-faced, and grey-haired"; another, who communicated certain poems and tunes to Ibrahim of Mausil, took the form of a richly clad sheikh, but afterwards became invisible.[3] It would seem that part of Elihu's polemic is directed against Eliphaz's theory of inspiration by Jinn. Job, he says, speaks not truly when he says God is too proud to communicate with man (xxxiii. 12). It is God Himself (not the Jinn) who speaks in the dream when he opens man's ear and fills it up with instruction.

To the same class of notions belongs the idea of the dead man's ghost watching over his grave, to which there is an allusion in xxi. 32: "And he is brought to the burial place, and watches over a grave." The Arabic name for the ghost

[1] שמע=שמץ.

[2] Ibn Khallikan (Cairo 1299), i. 631.

[3] *Aghani*, v. 37.

is *hamah*, and the soul was "supposed to be a bird which escaped from the body when a man died or was slain, and cried over his grave."[1] One theory was that in the case of a murdered man it cried over his grave "give me drink" till the slayer was slain. The meaning of the next words (rendered "the clods of the valley shall be sweet unto him") is exceedingly obscure. It is very remarkable that the words for "clods of the valley" in *Arabic* signify a particular sort of date-tree or date.[2] The exact process implied by the first word was a matter of dispute among the old grammarians; "it means," says a good authority,[3] "supporting a valuable date tree with an erection of stone or wood, if there is any danger of it falling owing to its height or the weight of its fruit." Another suggestion is that it means "hedging it round to prevent access to it." This is, I think, what the passage originally signified: the date tree to which he no longer has access is sweet to him: he would fain return to the world, but cannot get back.

It is probable that the accounts of the Parias which are to be found in chapters xxiv. and xxx. can be best illustrated from Arabia. Von Maltzan, in his *Travels*,[4] tells us of two sorts of Parias existing in Yemen; and there are reasons for thinking this institution a part of early Arabian culture. Those to whom reference is made in chapter xxiv. perform a variety of menial duties, including forms of agricultural labour, which an Israelite would certainly not have thought degrading. With the Arabs apparently it was otherwise. The poet Farazdak, who is one of our best representatives of early Arabian ideas, taunts one of his enemies[5] with the fact that his *relations press oil in the Hauran*. This is also regarded by the speaker in Job xxiv. 11 as a humiliating

[1] *Taj al-arus*, s.v. I think a line of Farazdak (p. 39, 1) must refer to this.
[2] *Rujabiyyu 'l-nakhli*. *Lisān al-Arab*, i. 397.
[3] *Nihāyah* of Ibn Al-Athir.
[4] *Reisen in Arabien*, i. 182–192.
[5] Page 74.

labour, which, owing to injustice, certain persons have to perform. To the humbler class of Paria described by Von Maltzan the account given in chapter xxx. almost exactly corresponds. These persons are not allowed to dwell near the rest of the nation; they are driven from the public places, and howled after like thieves.

If we look at Al-'Iss on the map, and see how vast a desert separates it from Palestine, surely we shall be inclined to wonder whether any Israelite could have interested himself in this locality sufficiently to produce such a work as the book of Job. Much of it, from the scanty information preserved by Arabic archæologists and poets, would, we see, have been intelligible to an Arab, without, so far as we know, being intelligible to a Canaanite. If any Israelite had taken the trouble to study Arabic in such a way as to enable him to create an Eliphaz, it is at least probable that his name would not have been forgotten by his countrymen.

Hence it was long ago suggested that the book must originally have been written in Arabic. The earliest Arabic which we possess is of about the year 600 A.D. It is, however, a canon of science that nature never deceives. That Hebrew, or Canaanitish, is a vulgar dialect of Arabic is as certain as if the best Canaanite writers themselves had told us so. And it is also certain that the Arabic whence Canaanitish was derived must have been a literary language, for the *orthography of Hebrew is etymological.* That fact postulates the existence of an Arabic literature earlier than the beginnings of Canaanitish. How long an interval elapsed between its decay and the renaissance of Arabic under the auspices of Mohammedanism is at present unknown. But the fact that the early Arabs wrote on stone gives us good hope that, sooner or later, their literature may be restored to us, just as those of ancient Egypt and Assyria have been restored.

This then gives us a likely clue to the difficulties of Job. The work is probably a translation, and translators are irresponsible. The original language was not the Sabæan, which we can now trace back to an early period, because Saba was a power hostile to the nation to which Job belonged. The character of the names of the speakers, no less than that of many of the institutions, makes it likely that it was classical Arabic. By following the clue, we may possibly recover in time the meaning of many passages in which the Hebrew conceals it; and even if the process be slow, and more accurate *thesauri* of the Arabic language required than those which we now possess, it will be something to be on the right track. And it will also be evident that the process of dissection is excessively premature.

One or two fairly clear cases of mistranslation may be noticed here.

In xxxvii. 7 it is said of the snow that "it places an obstruction before every man" (or, "ties the hand of every man") "that all the men of his work may know," or "to know all the men of his work." Neither of these expressions seems intelligible, or to represent a possible effect of a snowstorm. The verb which in Hebrew means "know," in Arabic means "abandon" or "neglect." The sense required by the passage, which is surely "so that every man must neglect his work" [1] (where work is in the open air this is is the certain result of a snowstorm) suits the Arabic meaning of the verb, and also suits the peculiarities of Arabic orthography. A suggestion that this could be a trace of the older sense of the verb "to know" in *Hebrew* would have no probability; and even so, only half the difficulties would be solved.

[1] In Arabic حتى يدع كل رجل عمله. The *elif* of prolongation was unknown in ancient Arabic.

xxxiii. 6, "Behold I am according to thy mouth unto God" is unlikely to be correct. The word "according to thy mouth" in Arabic letters would mean either "according to thy mouth" or "thy peer," "thy match." The same ambiguity would not, so far as we know, be found in Canaanitish. Yet it is evident that the sense "thy peer" is what is required. In an early chapter of Islamic history some champions refuse to fight with any but their "peers"; and the same word is used of equality for the purpose of marriage. "I am thy peer in God's eyes," is said by Elihu to Job, by way of affirming his claim to dispute with Job.

xv. 24, "Trouble and anguish shall suddenly overtake him; they shall prevail against him as a king ready to the battle," shows signs of mistranslation in the second clause. The word rendered "battle" is unknown. The figure of a king ready for battle seems inappropriate here, whether we think of the king as the attacking party or the attacked. The Arabic word for "ready"[1] (to the antiquity of which the Hebrew word is witness) is identical in form with the proper name Ma'add, an early name for a nation in Arabia, often used as equivalent to "Arab." Hence the words rendered "a king ready" are likely to have meant "the king of Ma'add." The word Kidur ("battle") would in that case be also a proper name; and, indeed, there are not a few proper names which resemble it, *e.g.* Kaudur, king of the Himyarites.[2] The allusion will then be to some sudden onslaught made by the king of Ma'add, which became typical of sudden and successful attacks. If we could imagine any ground for calling Abram "king of Ma'add," we might suppose his onslaught on Kudur-Laghomer the event to which reference is made.

In some other cases it is not clear whether we have a mistranslation from Arabic, or a unique employment of a

[1] See Abu 'l-Walid's *Dictionary* (ed. Neubauer), col. 555.

[2] *Taj al-arus*, s.v.

Hebrew root. In xxi. 28, "Behold, I know your thoughts and your imaginations which ye *mutter* against me," it is possible that the Hebrew root (ordinarily "to do violence") may have had the sense "mutter," but it seems more probable that we have a case of an Arabic word[1] represented by the Hebrew word that seemed to resemble it most. The Arabic verb is used of people saying something to themselves, because they are afraid to say it out aloud. "When I say what is absurd," says a poet, "I raise my voice; but when I speak the truth, I *mutter* it long, *i.e.* "I say it under my breath long before I venture to say it out loud." "Do you not see that the days of youth give warning in a *whisper*, or something gentler still?" the same poet asks in another place; the young would resent anything louder. "Our age cries aloud what the ages that only *muttered* concealed from us" gives a third illustration of this word.[2] In Syriac the word means simply "to think." It is clear that the verse of Job preserves an early example of this word, for which, had it been Hebrew in this sense, we should at least have been likely to find some parallels in the Bible.

It is not necessary to pursue this subject any further in this place. It has, I think, been shown that the probability is in favour of Job having been originally in the language spoken in the heart of Arabia: and this gives us the prospect of solving many difficulties which are at present unsolved, and, perhaps, of defining the place of Elihu in the dialogue better than it has hitherto been defined. There are, moreover, some other conclusions which are by no means devoid of interest. We have seen that the myth of Nahs Mirrikh is in Job part of a system of astronomy which belongs to Arabia; and the myth of Rahab is similar. But elsewhere in the Bible we find these powers

[1] חמם.

[2] *Luzumiyyat* of Al-Ma'arri (Cairo, 1895), ii. 6, 25, 36.

identified with Egypt. This being so, it would appear that Isaiah must have consciously adapted the myths of Job to Israelitish history. The wounds inflicted on Nahs Mirrikh and Zuhal had no meaning when the old mythology had been forgotten or abandoned; what they must represent, it was now thought, must be the great exploits of which the Israelites cherished the memory; and the defeat of Egypt being the chief of these, Egypt is identified with Nahs Mirrikh. It follows thence that the translation of Job was classical in Isaiah's time, and must have been made at a very early period of Israelitish history. Where, therefore, we find in Isaiah parallels to Job (and these are very frequent), this must be explained by Isaiah's style being modelled on this old classic.

In the literatures of which the growth can most easily be traced one generation is constantly found to instruct the next. The earliest Greek writers imitate Homer, the next generation imitates *them*, and presently the earliest Latin writers translate Greek works before they are able to produce works of their own. Ennius serves as a model to Lucretius, Lucretius to Vergil, Vergil to all that follow. Since then it is certain that the literature of Canaan was preceded by a literature in the language known to us as classical Arabic, it would be natural if Canaanitish literature commenced with translations from those old classics into the vernacular which now aspired to become a literary language.

The other possibility is that the translation of Job was made at the suggestion of some literary king, who may have played in Canaan the part afterwards played by Al-Ma'mun in the Mohammedan Empire. Since the difficulty of Job does not seem due to archaism so much as to mistranslation and, possibly, corruption, this latter hypothesis is the more probable; and it is confirmed by the fact that in xxxiv. 15 there appears to be a reference to the text of

Genesis. When Israelitish writers speak with respect of the wisdom of the "Children of the East," they most likely refer to the book of Job. That in the course of time the character of many of the speeches contained in it became modified is exceedingly likely; thus it seems clear that Job's answer in chapter xxvi. is by no means justified by the address of Bildad in chapter xxv. Since Bildad's speech is, moreover, abnormally short, it is probable that a considerable amount of objectionable matter has been omitted. In the case of a translation, where the work was originally non-Israelitish in character, such omissions are easily explicable; those of us who have to translate from the Sanskrit or Arabic, or even from the Greek or Latin, have constantly to omit matter which our taste rejects: and repeated handling of a book often reveals violations of taste which escape the notice of the first student. But that its general import was sufficiently profound and prophetic to justify its admission into the canon has, I hope, been shown —by no means for the first time.

D. S. Margoliouth.

DOCTRINES OF GRACE.

The Holy Ministry.

It may be boldly said that there is no office in human society so sacred as that of the Christian Ministry, no man on whom lies so heavy a burden as the minister of Christ. If he is to be worthy of his name, and fulfil the conditions of apostolic days, he must have been called twice by the Spirit of God—once to personal faith, once to public service —and without both calls he ought not to enter on this high duty. He also receives a double portion of grace, so much that he may overcome his own sin, and keep the law in his own life, so much that he may help his fellow-men in their spiritual conflict and win the world to his Master. It is necessary for him not only to feed upon the Word of God for his own spiritual life, but also so to understand it that he may be able to feed the souls of other men. Unto him is given the commission of Christ's Evangel, that he may declare the mercy of God; and the vindication of Christ's law, that he may beat down unrighteousness; and the charge of Christ's people, that he may keep them in the way everlasting. Upon him in especial depends the spiritual prosperity of the Church; for if he be holy and zealous, then the Church triumphs; if he be unbelieving and worldly, then the Church languishes. When the Ministry becomes careless, it is a sign that God is punishing the Church. As often as He would bless the Church, he revives the Ministry. When the Ministry is self-denying in life and spiritual in aim, then the world is vastly impressed, because it is reminded of Christ Himself; when the tone of the Ministry is frivolous and material, then the world is secretly disappointed. Whether or not the Ministry is invested with supernatural power, and whether or not the minister is intended to be separate from the

people, and to follow a habit of life to which other Christians are not called, are matters of dispute; but this is certain, that next to the preaching of the gospel and the administration of the sacraments, he is the chief channel through which grace comes from Christ to His people, and to the outside world he stands as the representative of the Church and the type of Christian living. It therefore concerns every Christian to understand the nature and the functions of that Ministry which Christ established in the Church, and by which He supports His Body.

As has happened with other doctrines in dispute, such as that of the Atoning Sacrifice of Christ, the difference is not so much about the facts of the Ministry as about the theory. If any one should ask how many officers there were in the Ministry at the close of the apostolic period, and what were their duties, and how they were appointed, and how they were related one to another, there is not much difficulty in getting an answer, and there would not be much disagreement about the answer. We are dealing up to that point with historical facts which are distinctly stated in the apostolic writings. When we inquire into the relation between the Ministry and the Lord, and between the Ministry and the Church, into the inherent power conferred upon the Ministry, and the authority to transmit this power to the generation following, into the question whether the Ministry is a priesthood in any sense different from that in which all Christ's people are priests, or whether Christ's minister is not the pastor of human souls to whom Christ alone is Priest, then we pass into an atmosphere which is thick with controversy and charged with keen feeling. With many shades of difference between, there are two opposite theories which divide the Church, and whose conflict has been one of the calamities of Christendom. One maintains that the true minister of Christ must be ordained by a particular officer of the Church, who

alone can convey the grace of the Ministry and confer power to administer the Sacraments; that the minister so ordained is a priest with authority, to offer again, in some sense, the sacrifice of the Lord, changing the bread and wine, after some fashion, into the body and blood of the Lord; that he has power to remit or to bind sins; that through him the Christian approaches his Lord, and that the Christian cannot, without peril, pass by this minister and seek direct access to Christ. It is also held that the grace conferred upon this man at ordination is indelible, and that his power to administer Sacraments and to loose sins is not affected by his character and conduct. According to the other theory, the valid minister of Christ is one on whom has been conferred a special gift of grace for the holy Ministry, and who, in virtue of this gift already bestowed, is outwardly called to the public work of the Ministry by the people of Christ, as he has already been inwardly called by the Lord; that he should be publicly set apart for the Ministry by the laying on of hands; that this is not the act of one man, but of the whole Church; that he is the teacher, and the guide, and the servant, and the friend of the people, but not their governor; and that if he fall into sin and become a scandal in the Church, he must at once be removed from the Ministry, because he has fallen from its grace, and that through an unbelieving and unholy man we cannot ordinarily expect any blessing to come. It may be said that this controversy cannot be of any great importance, since it only concerns the theory of the Ministry; but as a matter of fact the conditions of salvation, the relation of the soul to our Lord, the efficacy of the means of grace, and the very experiences of the religious life, are profoundly affected by the question whether Christ's minister is a priest or a pastor.

According to the apostolic writings—to deal first with facts about which there can be very little difference of

opinion—there were six officers in the first age of the Church, that is between Pentecost, when the Church may be said to have been fully established, and the death of the last of the Apostles, who were its inspired and authoritative rulers. The highest officer was the Apostle, as St. Paul declares when he gives the Ministry in order of rank, "And God hath set some in the Church; first apostles." The word Apostle has a distinct and most honourable meaning, for it signifies one sent by Christ, even as He was sent by the Father, except that while the Lord received from His Father the great commission of salvation, the Apostles received from Christ the commission to proclaim that salvation. The word is however employed both in a narrower and a larger sense. Within the Gospels it is applied to the Twelve whom Christ called from among His disciples and appointed to be the missionaries of the world; and according to St. Luke, Christ gave this name to the Twelve. "He chose twelve, whom also He named apostles." The number was fixed by that of the tribes of Israel, and, it was felt, must be maintained; so that when Judas Iscariot fell from his place Matthias was appointed his successor. The Apostles were called "The Twelve," and it was their reward that they should sit in the kingdom of Heaven upon twelve thrones judging the twelve tribes of Israel; and it is written in the Revelation of St. John that the wall of the city, which is the heavenly Jerusalem and the figure of the Church triumphant, "had twelve foundations, and in them the names of the twelve apostles of the Lamb." According to the idea of Pentecostal days, the qualification for an Apostle is that he should have had such intercourse with Christ that he could be a witness of the resurrection; and St. Paul, in claiming to be an Apostle, puts forth as the first evidence, "Have not I seen the Lord?" and again, "He was seen of me also as of one born out of due time." It is also implied as a second condition that he should have

received his commission direct from Christ, so that after the disciples had selected two who fulfilled the former condition that they had seen the Lord after His resurrection, they left the decisive choice, as they believed, to the Lord, through the casting of the lots, and St. Paul insists that he received his commission from Christ Himself, and is very jealous indeed lest it should be supposed he had been called by the other Apostles. He is an addition to the Apostolate, and was called for a special work, and with him the number of the Apostles is complete. The Twelve, with St. Paul, last called but most widely sent, are the glorious company of the Apostles.

As might be expected from the word, it is also applied to persons outside this circle, and who indeed were not qualified to enter it, but who were distinguished servants of Christ, and were called to the larger ministry. When St. Paul is writing about the evidence for the resurrection, he declares that Christ appeared not only to Cephas and the Twelve, but also that He was seen of all the Apostles. In the Book of Acts, Barnabas, as well as Paul, is called an Apostle; and in the Epistle to the Philippians, Epaphroditus is described as "your messenger," or Apostle; while in the Epistle to the Romans, Andronicus and Junias are said to have been of note among the Apostles. James the Lord's brother, Silvanus, Titus, and many nameless persons have their place in the larger Apostolate. Distinguished divines are inclined to make no difference in kind between the thirteen and the general Apostolate, and it is quite possible that many of its members may have seen the Lord. It is another question whether they received the call direct from a risen Christ, which was given to St. Paul from an open heaven, and it seems safer to conclude that while there were more men entitled to be called Apostles than we had thought of, or whose names are even mentioned in the sacred writings, the thirteen occupied a soli-

tary place. The work of an Apostle was not to administer Sacraments, but to preach the gospel; not to preside over Churches, but to found them; not to shepherd the souls of Christ's people, but to evangelize the world. He was the missionary of the Cross, who came to a city to preach Christ, who received into the Church the first converts, who gave them the body of Christian truth, who appointed their first ministers, who visited the Churches to see how it fared with them, and who advised and directed in cases of difficulty. For him there were no bounds of work except that he must not intrude upon another Apostle's labours; for him there were no limits of duty except that he must chiefly preach the gospel. His province was the Empire, his charge all the Churches. The Apostle ceased of necessity when the last Christian died who had seen the Lord, and can only be restored if Christ were pleased again to reveal Himself from Heaven, as He did to St. Paul; and until He so calls one of His servants no one has any right, in the stricter sense of the word, to call himself an Apostle.

The second officer of the Apostolic Church is the Prophet; and the only difference between the Prophet of the New Testament Church and the Old is that the New Testament Prophet does not seem to have committed his revelations to writing, and also that he was overshadowed by the Apostles. Like the Prophet of the former day, he is one whose soul is especially open to the influence of God's Spirit, and through whom, as through a sensitive medium, the will of God can be declared. There are men in every age who have quicker ears for truth than their fellows, no doubt because they have finer souls, and the mystics may be said to be the order of prophets continued in the Christian Church. The Prophet of the Apostolic period was possible, then, because there was at that time a special outpouring of the Holy Spirit. "On My servants and on My handmaidens I will pour out in those days of My Spirit, and they shall

prophesy." When this period ceased, the order also ceased, and cannot be restored until the same baptism of the Holy Ghost be again given of which the signs will doubtless be the spiritual gifts of Apostolic days. Among the spiritual gifts St. Paul ranked prophecy very high : " Desire spiritual gifts," he wrote, " but chiefly that ye may prophesy ; for he that prophesieth, speaketh unto men, to edification and exhortation and comfort."

The third order which follows upon that of Prophet is Teacher; and although the exact duties and sphere of the Teacher in the early Church are obscure, one may safely conclude that he represented our scholar, or theologian. It was for him, we suggest, to follow up the work of the Apostle who declared the facts of Christ's life and the conditions of Christ's salvation, and to reinforce the Prophet who quickened and comforted the hearts of Christians by his spiritual and heavenly exhortation. The Teacher would arrange the facts and apply the revelation, and reduce this body of truth to an orderly and convenient form, so that the people might carry it in their minds the more easily. It would also fall to him to remove the difficulties which met new converts in the gospel, and to defend the gospel from attack. While the Apostle and the Prophet, in the special sense of the words, ceased with the first century, the Teacher is a permanent officer of the Church, to whom the Church has owed more than she has ever acknowledged, and whom the Church has often been ready to persecute. As in the first days, he has no parish and no congregation, but lives where he pleases, and goes where he will; and the scholar of Christ is the servant of all Christ's people, but chiefly of his fellow-ministers; and when we consider what the Church has owed to these men—Augustine, Aquinas, Calvin, Hooker—we know she can have no greater gift until there be once more among us Apostles and Prophets.

The fourth officer in the Church—still proceeding in order of rank—is the Evangelist, and in the list given in the Epistle to the Ephesians he is placed third. Christ, St. Paul writes, gave "some Apostles, some Prophets, and some Evangelists; and there are two illustrations of the Evangelist given in the Apostolic period. One is Timothy, who seems to have been sent by the Apostles as an Apostolic delegate, appointing Church officers, and administering discipline, as well as declaring and maintaining the truth. The other is Philip, who happens to be one of the seven, but who was also an Evangelist, and as an Evangelist held a higher place than that of deacon. It was he who at the bidding of an Angel met the Ethiopian treasurer returning from Jerusalem in despair of truth, and taught him the way of God, and it was he who preached Christ to the city of Samaria. He, also, was the delegate of the Apostles; and when it was known at Jerusalem that Samaria had received the word of God, Peter and John went down and laid their hands upon the converts, and they received the Holy Ghost. Philip at least had the power of working miracles, and it may be taken for granted that the Evangelists exercised special gifts, both of power and authority, through their connexion with the Apostles. Such gifts are not continued, but the office is one which may well be permanent in the Christian Church. If God has bestowed upon any one of His ministers the distinct gift of preaching the gospel to unbelievers and winning the outside world to Christ, a gift which is different from that of exposition and edification, then it seems wise that such a man should be set aside for this office, and that he should receive a commission to go wherever the door opens, and to gather Christ's lost sheep into the fold. The missioner is as much needed at home as the missionary is abroad, and the organization of the Christian Church will not be complete until the order of Evangelists be restored, and here

we mean the Evangelist of the type of Philip. Unto other men has been given the faculty of oversight, including arrangement and management, and it would be an excellent thing for the non-episcopal Churches to have officers who would set in order troubled affairs, examine into duty neglected by ministers and congregation, strengthen the weak parts in the Church's machinery, and by counsel and encouragement put heart into those who are losing hope. The Scots Church, which has never had any leaning to prelacy, found it useful after the Reformation to have an officer, called the superintendent, who exercised the practical, though not spiritual, powers of a bishop. This is the Evangelist after the type of Timothy.

Besides those four officers, two of whom are confined of necessity to the Apostolic period, and two may very well be permanent in the Christian Church, we find two other officers who before the close of the first century have an established position, and who remain unto this day. The chief distinction between them and the other four is that while the four belong to the Church universal, going whither they may be sent, and having as it were no parish, except the world, the fifth and sixth officers are localized and have their sphere in one congregation. One is that minister of Christ who is called sometimes an elder or presbyter, and sometimes an episcopus or bishop; and fortunately the controversy regarding the identity in rank and office of the elder and bishop in Apostolic days has been settled by the greatest English theologian of our century, and no one now questions the fact that presbyter and episcopus are to all intents and purposes synonymous. The words have, however, different origins and bear witness to the two streams which flowed into the Christian community. Episcopus was the name given to one of the chief officers in the innumerable associations for social, religious, and political purposes which existed throughout

the Roman Empire during the early centuries of Christian history. The Church was not the first society to which the Christian convert had belonged, for he may have been a member of a trades' union, or an athletic club, or a literary association, or a financial company. Society at that day was subdivided into guilds and clubs, and the Christian Church, although, as we have pointed out, something very different, would seem at first sight only another association more kindly, and more spiritual than its neighbours. When the Christians in any place had been formed into a local Church, and when an officer was required to receive the offerings of the Church and to distribute them among the poor, to show kindness to travelling Christians, and to exercise discipline among the members of the society, to be, in short, the president of this new body, what could be more natural than that he should be called the episcopus? and therefore, when St. Paul is writing to the Philippian Church, a Church that was chiefly Gentile, he addresses, not the elders, but the bishops.

Among the Jews from early days society had been based upon the family, and the rulers of the people were the elders. The elders played no little part in Old Testament history; and when the synagogue was instituted, they became its chiefs, sitting in the place of honour and representing authority in the community. The Christian Church was born within Judaism; and when it set up house for itself, the Church adopted the Jewish system of government by elders. The office was not so much created as continued, and we find the elders ruling the Church of Jerusalem, which, of course, was Jewish, just as the same men might have ruled in the synagogue. While St. Paul does not mention the presbyters in his roll of Church officers, very likely for the reason that they were local and not universal in their office, he takes care to ordain elders to take charge of Churches which he founded. He

laid upon the elders of the Church the charge of the flock over which "the Holy Ghost had made them episcopi." It is the elder who is to feed the sheep, and it is for the elder the sick are to send. The elders are honourably united with the Apostles and the government of the Church of Jerusalem, and the decree of the first Church council ran in the name of the Apostles and elders. While in the earlier days the offerings of charity from the Gentiles to the Jews were forwarded to the elders for distribution at Jerusalem, and while the episcopus would be mainly occupied with charity in the beginning of his Christian career, this officer soon threw off the charge of financial affairs and was devoted to the spiritual oversight of the people, and the elder or bishop of Apostolic days corresponds almost exactly to the minister or clergyman in charge of a parish and congregation.

Very soon, and from the force of circumstances, it was necessary that a Christian congregation should have two officers, one to attend to its spiritual affairs, and another to its temporal, and before the conversion of St. Paul the Church of Jerusalem had made this division of labour. They had selected seven men full of faith and of the Holy Ghost, and having ordained them, and so declared them to be spiritual officers of Christ's Church, they committed to their charge the offerings of Christ's people. It is true that the seven were not called deacons; but things exist before their names, and there is no doubt they were the beginning of the diaconate, the order next to that of the elder, and which completes the organization of the Church in Apostolic days. It is not safe to take the seven as the type of deacons, for two of them, Stephen and Philip, were preachers and witnesses, and the position of the seven seems to have been at least equal to that of presbyters; but the work which they were called to do is that which afterwards belonged to the deacon. From the qualifications for

the two offices, as stated in the first Epistle to Timothy, it is evident that the duty of the presbyter "was more spiritual," for he must be a man apt to teach, "while the deacon is to be one" not double-tongued and not greedy of base gain, a stronger word than that used in the character of the elder. While the deacon gradually became the assistant of the presbyter in spiritual duties, he was, to begin with, the almoner of the Church. We are reminded both of the unity and humility of Christian service by his very name, which is simply servant, and is the name by which an Apostle is proud to describe himself; for from the Apostle to the deacon, and from the deacon to the most obscure person who works in Christ's house, all are the servants of the Lord.

When we pass from the facts of the holy Ministry in the Apostolic period to the authority of the Ministry in all periods, then we are among burning questions which have set men's minds on fire, and in the flames thereof charity itself has often been consumed. It is perhaps an inevitable fault of human nature that men should be jealous about their office, and that ministers of Christ holding different theories of their authority should allow the personal factor to enter into the discussion of Orders. As the word for Orders, and all the words which have to do with appointment to Christian offices, came from the province of civil government, possibly some flavour of secular ambition and strife has clung to them, and the Church, in adopting the graded system of political government, has run some danger of turning the Kingdom of Christ into a worldly state. It was not without reason that the Master insisted upon the grace of humility, and rebuked Apostles who desired to exceed their fellows in anything except in sacrifice, and that He declares that He alone was Master and that His servants were brethren. Perhaps one may be too much influenced by the appearance of things, but certainly one cannot com-

pare the hierarchy of the Church when the Church was in the height of her worldly glory—the titles and the pomp and the riches and the luxury, I will not add the unashamed vices—with the simplicity of the Ministry in the days of the Apostles, without amazement and the uneasy feeling that all this rank and show is of the world, and not of Christ.

The dispute regarding the exact authority of the holy Ministry is really twofold. First, what it is; and second, whence it came; and although the two questions are closely linked together—the question, that is, of sacerdotalism and the other question of Apostolic succession, to use the familiar terms of this controversy—it is convenient to take first the one and then the other. Was it according to the will of Christ (and is it a matter of fact) that the Christian minister be a priest, or was it not Christ's intention (and the state of things in Apostolic days) that he should be a pastor? If the matter can be settled by names, then the argument can be closed at once; for although the minister of Christ is called, as we have seen, Apostle, Prophet, Teacher, Evangelist, Elder, Overseer, Deacon, as well as Shepherd, Leader, Ruler, he is never, as an officer of the Church, called priest in the New Testament Scripture. Amid this wealth of description, designed to bring out every side of his office and the distinction between the various duties of the Ministry, one word is carefully omitted and ostentatiously refused. It was the word most commonly used to describe a minister of religion in that day, and the word used not only in heathen religions, but also in the Jewish Church—the Church from whose bosom Christianity sprang. If it should be said that it was necessary for Christianity to avoid the terminology of Judaism in order that the new religion might not be confounded with the old, then why was the local and permanent Minister of the Christian Church called an Elder, and the

Synagogue, as it were, reconstituted in the upper rooms of the young Church? Was it to make a distinction between the Synagogue, wherein there was no sacrifice except that of praise, which is ever to be continued, and the Temple, where there were the sacrifices of blood, which had been for ever abolished? Is there not a presumption that Christianity began without any sacerdotal element, and is a religion in which sacerdotalism was to have no place, when the new religion, having a choice, called her minister, not a priest after the fashion of the Temple, but an elder after the example of the Synagogue?

Things, however, exist before words, and words are then made for their description; and it may be suggested that the office of ministering priest was implied in the Christian worship, although the name had not yet been given to the officiating minister. If there be no Sacerdotium in the New Testament Scriptures, yet, if there be a Sacrificium, the other must follow, for a sacrifice demands a priest. Was there any sacrifice which the presbyter could offer, and in offering constitute himself a priest? Certainly there was a sacrifice which he was bound to offer, and that was the living sacrifice of himself as a man bought by the blood of Christ and consecrated to His service; but this was a sacrifice which all his fellow-Christians could not only offer with him, but were bound to offer, and in this sense all Christian folk are priests unto God. An atoning sacrifice there was none for him or any other man to offer, for Christ had offered Himself once in the end of the world, and now our one Ministering Priest has "entered into the Holy Place to make intercession for us." This sacrifice cannot be repeated, but it can be remembered, and in the remembrance of the Lord's death the whole congregation unite: "The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not the Communion of the Blood of Christ? The bread which we break, is it not the Communion of the Body of Christ?" There

can therefore be no ministering priest because he has no sacrifice to minister, and the word is not used because the thing does not exist.

It may also be added that the spirit of Christianity has no place for the sacerdotal idea, because that idea creates an order of men who stand between God and their fellows, and through whose ministrations the sinner can alone be accepted of God. Nowhere in the Gospels does Christ intimate that if a person desired to approach Him he must come through an Apostle. More than once He rebuked His Apostles because they came between Him and seeking souls. He was accessible to all and easy to be entreated; more accessible than His Apostles were, more gentle in His ways. There never was any religion so informal and so unofficial as Christianity, whose Lord invites all to come to Him, and declares He will cast none out who come, Who answered every prayer, and responded even to the tears of a penitent. Has Jesus, because He passed into the heavens, withdrawn Himself from human souls? has he given to inferior men that right of mediation which He sharply denied to the Apostles? Is He now remote and awful, refusing to hear any confession unless it be made first through a fellow-sinner, refusing forgiveness unless it be made through the mouth of that fellow-sinner? It may be so; but if so, the Lord is not that "same Jesus." It may be that a man now stands between the penitent and the Lord; but if so, there is a gulf which cannot be bridged between the Church of to-day and the Church of the first days.

Our second question is the origin of ministerial authority, and the question here is whether a Ministry is valid in virtue of the grace bestowed upon the minister which appears in his life and work, which also is recognised and accepted by the Church, or whether his Ministry is alone valid who has a commission received by transmission from

the original pastoral authority. No doubt there is something which appeals to the imagination in the idea of this long and august succession. That the Apostles received a deposit of grace which they pass to bishops, that one bishop passed this sacred treasure to another, on to the present day; that every man on whose head a bishop in this succession laid his hands was invested with such supernatural power that the child whom he christened in the name of the Holy Trinity became a child of God; and that every time he consecrated the elements of bread and wine they changed into the body and blood of Christ. This provision seems to give the most perfect security for the administration of the Divine grace, as, on the other hand, it separates with the utmost rigour between those who belong to the Church and those who are outside the covenant; and, indeed, so uncompromising and so automatic is the principle, that if both the officiating priest in the Sacrament and the receiving communicant be rank unbelievers, yet the one can give and the other receive the body and blood of Christ.

While on first sight this theory is imposing by its thoroughness, on closer examination it is encompassed with difficulties; and the first is this, that no such deposit of sacerdotal grace was ever made to the Apostles as Apostles, and therefore there was nothing which they could transmit to the bishops following. It is generally agreed that Christ conferred this authority, if He did at all, on the evening of Easter Day, when, the doors being shut, He appeared in the midst of His disciples, and said, "Peace be unto you." He also breathed on them, and said, "Receive ye the Holy Ghost"; and then follow the special words of the commission, "Whosesoever sins ye remit they are remitted unto them, and whosesoever sins ye retain they are retained." What may be intended by the remitting and retaining of sins is just now outside our concern. What we require to know for our purpose is

not the contents of the commission, but the persons to whom it was given. They are called in St. John's Gospel the "disciples," and in St. Luke's Gospel the company is described as the "eleven and they that were with them"; that is to say, not the Apostles only, but Cleopas and his friend who had returned from Emmaus, and a number of other disciples. Christ conferred this power not upon one class, the Ministry in the Church, but upon the whole Church; not upon a few, but upon the society; so that it is the whole body of Christians who have received this deposit, and the whole body who can transmit it to the generations following. Again, if you please, we have a priesthood, but it is the priesthood of the whole body, and no grace can be transmitted through the line of apostolical succession which cannot be fully transmitted by the whole body of the Church.

The second weakness in this theory is the uncertainty of the method by which the grace can be transmitted. If it be by the laying on of hands, then this beautiful rite had a very wide use in ancient times, and was employed not only for the ordination of a minister but the admission of an ordinary member and the readmission of a penitent, and the Pope declares that by itself the imposition of hands signifies nothing definite. If it is by the words which are used, then it is in dispute what the words ought to be, and there have been many different forms. When Cyprian describes the ordination of a bishop with great minuteness, he does not refer to the imposition of hands. According to Dr. Hatch, "all the elements of appointment to ecclesiastical offices were also the elements of appointment to civil offices," namely, "Nomination, Election, Approval, and the Declaration of Election by a competent officer. . . ." On the morning after his election the bishop is escorted to his chair by the other bishops who took part in the election, and at once enters on the active

duty of a bishop by preaching a sermon and celebrating the Eucharist. One also gathers from the directions which St. Paul gave to Titus to appoint elders in each city that the election was the same as that of a Roman magistrate, for the word employed means to elect by popular vote. It is also worthy of note that St. Paul was called to the Apostleship by Christ Himself, and insisted that his orders were of Christ and not of man; but when he was ordained at Antioch in recognition of the grace he had received, he was ordained not by Apostles, nor yet by presbyters, but by the whole body of the Church. "Then they," that is, the Church, "held a special fast and prayed, and laid their hands upon them, and gave them leave to depart." When it was necessary to elect the seven, the Church was commanded by the Apostles to discover men of honest report, full of the Holy Ghost and of wisdom; when the Church had elected the seven, as men who had the Holy Ghost, they were ordained. Timothy was ordained by the laying on of the hands of the presbytery and also by the ordination of the Apostles, but it is stated with marked emphasis that a gift had come to him by prophecy. We gather, therefore, from the history of the Apostolic period and early days that the great qualification for the ministers was the possession of the Holy Ghost; that the Church selected for office men that were so qualified, whether a Paul, or a Stephen, or a Timothy; that they appointed them to office as a rule by the laying on of hands, and that the validity of the office was not dependent on the form of ordination, about which to this day there is no certainty, but upon the spiritual gifts which the minister received from Christ. We therefore conclude not only that there is no special gift which the Apostolic officer can alone confer, but that if there were, there is no certain method by which he could transmit it.

Another unfortunate defect in this theory is the want of

a continued and verified line of officers to transmit the grace, if it had been given, and if there were any way of transmitting it. When the deposit is so sacred and the want for it so great, and when, indeed, without an unbroken line of trustees there can be no ministerial or sacramental grace in the Church, one could have hoped that the history of this line, upon which so much depends, would have been as distinct as the conditions of salvation. One would have expected to find a table by which the bishop of to-day could trace his descent from the Apostles—an unbroken chain with every link in its place. But what does a perplexed seeker after truth find when he turns to this genealogy? That an Anglican bishop traces his succession to the Roman Church, and the Roman Church informs us promptly and with emphasis that he is simply an unordained and unconsecrated layman; that a bishop of the Holy Orthodox Church of the East has true Orders by the admission of the Roman See, but yet the Eastern and Western Churches are separate; that the Roman Church cannot by the widest stretch of historical charity connect itself by a continuous line of bishops with the Apostles; that there is a blank space between the Apostles and the first historical Bishop of Rome; that there is a grave uncertainty when the historical episcopate was created; that there is no evidence of the ordination of a bishop by the Apostles; that the identification of the Evangelist Timothy and James of Jerusalem with bishops is only a plausible suggestion; that the early episcopate differed very much, as a matter of fact, and by general consent, from the episcopate in later days; that some of the early Churches, whose position in the Church Catholic cannot be denied, had, so far as appears, no bishops, and that the bishop was elected by the presbyters—to quote the words of St. Jerome, "Just as an army elects a general, or as deacons appoint one of themselves whom they know

to be diligent and call him an archdeacon." Amid this wilderness of uncertainty and controversy and speculation and inconsistence, the path of the succession can often be traced with difficulty, and is sometimes lost, and it is surely too great a burden upon reason to insist that a Christian must believe that along this wandering and broken way can alone come the sure blessing of the Divine grace. For this is not like the glory of the highway of the Prophet, wherein the wayfaring man, even though he be a fool, shall not err.

While one is bound to point out the patent difficulty of this theory, it does not follow that he is indifferent to the value of the episcopate or the service which the bishop had rendered to the unity of the Christian Church. Although the episcopate may not be found during the Apostolic period, and although it may not have been created by inspired authority, of which, I submit, there is no evidence, there were excellent reasons for its establishment. For one thing, every body of officers, from the Board of a Company up to the rulers in Christ's Church, must have a president, and it is not desirable that he be too frequently changed. If he be a wise man, and able to rule with knowledge and with grace, it is better that he be continued in his office, and that the Church in that particular place should have a strong head. When persecutions came and some one was needed to hearten the Church, it was natural that a man of courage and faith should come to the front, and that the power should be concentrated in his hands. When heresies sprang up, and there was danger that the truth of God should be lost, it was well that it should have a responsible guardian. As the number of presbyters increased and the duties of the office multiplied, it was desirable that there should be an overseer to take charge of them as they took charge of the people. The organization of the Church, as the witness to the Lord and the defender of the faith, and

the shepherd of souls, culminated in the office of bishop. Without the episcopate in the days of persecution and confusion, when society was falling to pieces on every side, and the Church was the only hope of stability, it may be urged with great force that the visible unity of the Church could not have been preserved, and her disruption would have been a disaster of the first magnitude both to religion and to society. It ought also to be frankly admitted that it is a good thing for the Church to have men of recognised authority and wide experience, to whom her ministers can go for spiritual and practical advice, and who shall be in truth their father in God. It is an historical fact that the Churches under episcopal government have had a more profound conviction of the duty of unity, and have been less open to the storms of individualistic self-will, than the non-episcopal communions, and the way in which a handful of non-episcopal Christians, being thwarted in some scheme of their own fancy, will threaten to break up the Church of their faith and baptism is to my mind one of the strongest arguments for some form of episcopal government.

Whether government by presbyters or by bishops be more expedient for the good of a Christian Church, is an open question, and very likely a compromise between the two systems would be best; but it is another question altogether, whether it is the will of Christ that the supreme government of the Church should be so invested in bishops that any other system of government be judged an act of disobedience to the Lord, and the persons under its charge be placed outside the promised blessing. This is a daring position to take up in face of a divided Christendom, and there can be no other final settlement of the matter in dispute than an appeal to the facts of religion. It is really futile since the Reformation for any single Church to claim the monopoly of the grace of orders or of the sacraments.

Does the Church of Rome, which upon the theory of Apostolic succession has the surest Orders, foster a piety more intelligent and spiritual than the Church of England? Have the Wesleyan Methodists of England and the Calvinistic Methodists of Wales done less for religion according to their province than the Anglican Church? Has the Kirk of Scotland been less faithful to her nation or made less of her children than the ancient Church to whose heritage she succeeded? Has the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper been less efficacious for comfort and holy living when administered by a presbyter, ordained by fellow-presbyters, than by a priest on whom a bishop in full communion with Rome has laid his hands? When one asks those questions, and many more of the same kind might be asked, he is not to be understood as disparaging any body of Christ's people, for he rejoices to recognise the grace of God in all schools and in all sections of the Church —in St. Augustine and in Clement of Alexandria, in Tauler and in Thomas à Kempis, in Philip Melanchthon and in Francis Xavier, in Bishop Andrews and John Bunyan, in Pusey and in Spurgeon—he is not seeking to unchurch any of Christ's disciples, or to limit the grace of the Lord, but he is rather trying to magnify that idea of the Church Catholic which will include within its visible bounds every true disciple of the Lord Jesus Christ, and that Apostolic idea of the holy Ministry, as old as St. Paul's ordination at Antioch, which will recognise as a valid minister of Christ every one who, having been called of God, and manifestly prepared by the Holy Spirit, shall therefore be called of Christ's people and ordained by them to the preaching of the word and the administration of the sacraments.

JOHN WATSON.

CHRIST'S THREE JUDGES.

II.

Pilate.

(John xviii. 28–xix. 16.)

The difficulty of Caiaphas was that he came to the judgment seat with a mind so biassed that he could only see in Jesus what his prejudice allowed. Pilate's difficulty was of another sort. So far as he had a prejudice it was in the prisoner's favour. As governor, he knew the unreasonableness of the Jewish leaders, and he was not disposed to think badly of a man who had fallen out with them. As a soldier, he had no dislike to blows given in battle or to check a rising; but the sight of this helpless peasant, baited and hounded on to death by a mob of pilgrims, to gratify the spite of priests, moved his sympathy. He was really sorry for their victim, and was convinced of His innocence. But he laboured under a constitutional incapacity to understand anything but material force; and when Christ and he met, their words moved, as it were, on different levels. Common words had different meanings for them. To the judge, an authority which was not backed by troops, and a force which did not command outward success, were insignificant; whilst to the prisoner, an authority which needed force to back it was so inferior as to be unworthy of notice. It was the meeting of a serpent and a bird, of one who found the earth enough, and one who took the heaven of thought and truth as his home. And the dialogue, in so far as it is preserved, is remarkable in this that the two men, though face to face, did not really meet. They talked of different worlds. And when Pilate found no fault in Jesus, the perplexity remained for him of discovering some ray of meaning in his prisoner's words.

In this respect Pilate was a true child of his nation. The Romans, with all their greatness, were a stolid and prosaic race. They had little poetry, and their imagination was most readily kindled by the history and the destiny of their empire. In Christ's age their most vital religion was the empire; the god to whom the most altars were raised, and to whom sacrifices were offered with most zeal, was the emperor himself. And that was not unnatural; for the Roman empire was the embodiment of material force and policy, carried to such a height as to become almost a spiritual thing. Wherever men journeyed they found that power before them; it had swept the sea of pirates, it had built roads and bridges, established posts, tamed the wild tribes. Into one hand was gathered the control of the civilized world. A man had no way of escape; if he were to live within the world of order and culture, he must do as the law enjoined; and if he transgressed, there was still no escape, for anywhere, by land or sea, that mighty hand could seize him and lead him back to face his doom. That is to say, the Romans found in the action of the imperial power something like our notions of providence, omnipotence and omnipresence: it went everywhere, it controlled all, it could do all. And that was their faith—faith in a perfectly organized and victorious force. On the whole that force was justly exercised; but no scruples about human rights were allowed to hamper the course of policy. Force was the principal thing, before which the Greeks, with their pre-eminence in art and thought, had gone down; and nations which had superiorities of other kinds had also failed. For the world, they felt, is subject to the strong hand; all things are possible to it. The great Napoleon, who restored in Europe so many of the ideas of the Cæsars, had the same view. He had a secret leaning to sentimentalism, and had wept over the sorrows of Werther; but that was diversion, it lay off the path of real life. And the

idéologue, the man of ideas and ideals, who is swayed by them, and gives them a place of authority in his life, was for him an object of contempt. In our country the same view prevails, and all things are subjected to the dominion of the practical man; metaphysic is popularly dismissed with a sneer, and pure science is starved in all the universities under every government. For the Briton, like the Roman, prefers what is tangible and effective; what is not visible may have interest for men of leisure, but it is off the path of practical men.

Now before Pilate, who thus judged, stood One who had little concern with our distinctions of seen and unseen: He was interested in real things, whether seen or not. When the disciples returned, uplifted with their small successes, He exclaimed, "I beheld Satan as lightning fall from heaven." The faint, first indication was enough for Him, who in the mere hint of prosperity rejoiced in the far-off consummation. "If you have faith as a grain of mustard seed," He said again, "you will say to this mountain, Depart and be cast into the sea, and it will obey you; and nothing shall be impossible to you." The Roman, judging by his rule, says, "Here is only one obscure man; we need not stand in fear of him." And Christ, following His rule, reckons, "Here is a man with faith—the smallest and feeblest measure of it, but with faith; he can go far, the world has no gates shut against him." Again He says, "The kingdom of heaven is like a grain of mustard seed, the least of all seeds"; "it is like leaven which a woman hid in three measures of meal." On which the practical man remarks, "The least of all seeds, and it has been the occupation of a lifetime!" A man, who might have been usefully employed, has done nothing else than discover or proclaim this inconspicuous, commonplace truth! He has laboured night and day at preaching, and has grown old, and the world gives no sign. Why cannot men give their

strength to that which shows? But Christ comments, "The least of seeds, likely to be overlooked by men, but it becomes a tree. The leaven passes out of sight, but it leavens the lump." For the one force which Jesus did believe in was the force of ideas, of truth; and He was persuaded that, in presence of that force, the great fabric of Roman power and of every empire built on material considerations must crumble and then vanish. Thus they faced each other, the representatives of widely diverse systems, Pilate seeing in the world the prevalence of organized, material force, and Christ watching for the swift advances of the victory of truth. Was a harder task ever given to man than this of Pilate—to understand and judge his own opposite?

It is interesting to observe in detail how Pilate's lack of understanding for what was not material led him astray. It appears at once in the fear which led him to condemn Christ. He had pronounced Him innocent, for His offence, at worst, was in some question of Jewish doctrine, and he would fain have let Him go. But the streets were thronged with pilgrims, with their religious zeal blown up to white heat, bent on having this man's blood who had spoken blasphemous things of their Temple. Pilate looked out on that stormy sea of faces, and he came back to his prisoner. His instinct as a judge told him he must dismiss the accused; his self-respect as a Roman and a governor made him reluctant to yield to this horde of shrieking zealots. If justice meant anything, he was bound to set the man free. But he counted over the men at his command, and he reckoned the hosts of pilgrims who would have picked down his castle with their claws rather than miss their prey; and he was afraid. Another legion within call might have made the difference, or a week or two later in the year when the pilgrims had gone home. The question whether Jesus Christ should live or die was suspended on so ignoble a

consideration as the fitness of the Roman garrison to hold the castle; and Pilate asked himself, not if this were just, but if he had soldiers and supplies to bear him out in it. This is an old question of truth or force. Joseph was pressed by it when his position and his good name were at stake, when youthful passion and self-interest and assured secrecy all pointed in one way. "How can I do this great wickedness and sin against God?" he cried, bursting free from the nets which circumstance was weaving about him. "Here I stand. I can do no other, so help me God!" said Luther—one little monk in face of the authority of Empire and Church, with nothing of physical force to uphold him. And all noble deeds are done by men who ask no other backing than that of truth; and all works of shame are wrought by those who put first the question of force. When John Brown was in hiding, his retreat was known to many who hated him, but none of them dared an attack; and the reason he gave for his security was that "perhaps they felt they lacked a cause," and "they did not wish their last act in the world to be a wrong one." Though the material power was theirs, they achieved nothing at that time; for the "cause" was his, and it bore him out. The first thing a man must learn who desires to go with Christ is a noble blindness to all selfish considerations of worldly prudence. A course of action is safe enough if it is right; and whether safe or not, it must be followed to the end.

Pilate might have risked something if he had thought the case one of importance. Frequent complaints were carried up from the provinces to Rome, and the central authority was so overburdened that a governor was in danger who was much complained of. But if there had been some considerable interest at stake, Pilate, who did not lack hardihood, might have faced the worst. But it was a question of a provincial, a peasant, the companion of fisher-

men and outcasts, who had enjoyed a momentary popularity in the north, but whose following had dwindled until He was almost alone. The world already had judged Him, and marked Him for failure. It was scarcely to be looked for that a governor should risk his reputation for such a reason. He looked at his prisoner, a man prematurely old, with hope gone out of His enterprise; he thought of himself and his ambitions, of his wife and the luxuries which office brought to them; and he measured the one against the other. What would Rome say of a magistrate who kindled revolt throughout his province in order to lengthen out the experience of failure of a peasant teacher? His error lay in the misapplication of the standards of material force; for all who know anything of truth and justice know that considerations of great and small are foreign to them. In morals, as in mathematics, the proof does not depend on the scale. The relations of sides and angles in a triangle are not changed when we pass from the minute diagram in a textbook to the inconceivable distances which separate star from star; and duties and truths are no less obstinate, allowing no distinction of great or small. The two mites, in Christ's right-judging eye, were a great thing; the ointment poured on His head shall be mentioned wherever His gospel is preached; a cup of cold water shall be named and rewarded in the judgment of the Great Day. "I give all my goods to feed the poor"—that, surely, is great; it is nothing, says Paul. "I give my body to be burned"—how noble a man, a martyr and saint! It is nothing, says the Apostle again. The trifling occasion on which, it seems, a man may please himself has eternal issues; this diplomatic yielding on Pilate's part, because the matter was so small, has marked him for all time. And every one who presumes to measure duty, and to make terms with it according to its apparent magnitude and urgency, is running in the same direction.

Pilate's impression of the smallness of the occasion is given picturesquely in the pantomime by which he relieved himself of responsibility. He called for water, and washed his hands before the crowd, declaring thus that it was not his doing; that, had he got his will, the prisoner would have been free; so he turned down the page and hastened to forget a trivial incident. That is in the very spirit of the practical man, who thinks that small offences do not matter and great offences do not matter much, and that the world has as short a memory as the casual onlooker. How long has Pilate stood there washing his hands? Will he never come down from that pillory, or see the stain remove? To every generation of men he must renew his apology, and show afresh that the will to crucify was not in him; but the stain is there, and will not rub out. Public works of his day in the province have long since disappeared; roads are buried deep, palaces and baths fallen to ruins, fortifications have scarcely left a trace. Nothing he did has been enduring except this one insignificant act of compliance. For even thus it may be seen how much stronger the spiritual is than the physical. George Eliot reckoned that in a few years the good she did would outweigh any possible consequences of her great mistake, in which we chiefly see her inexpertness in judging the higher laws of life. For who can measure a good and evil as if they were masses of fixed dimensions? The evil strikes upon another man, incarnates itself in him, and uses his energy and genius to propagate its own life; and thus it may run out and out in ever-widening circles. So also may the good; the anxious fidelity of a good man in trifles may impress his neighbour more than any greater achievement. Good and evil, truth and falsehood, are living powers which grow more and move and capture men's lives in spite of them. And thus in the world we inhabit our works, whether we count them large or small, live

on; our judgment and our remembrance of them matter nothing. And hence it is for ever true that the final judgment on a man comes not at his own death, but at the world's end; sooner it cannot be. For what went out from him and is now forgotten, is living on, and turning towards the better or the worse men he never saw. Until human life on earth is complete, it cannot be truly said of any man what he has done or how great his work has been.

In another way which has not lost currency Pilate showed on this occasion the spirit of the practical man. He brought Jesus out to the crowd and pointed to Him, a figure to move pity in the most cruel. He was sorry for his prisoner, and he thought they might also be sorry when they saw how wretched and suffering a man He was. Sentiment is often a worldly man's substitute for mercy. It was all Pilate had to give to Jesus; he felt no awe in His presence. He recognised no truth or authority in His words. All he had was a movement of pity for a broken man; and that was on the surface, whilst his will was clear to sacrifice the man if this last appeal failed. Sentiment at all times makes truth and justice a little thing. And a wrong is done to truth by those who dwell entirely on the emotional side of Christ's suffering, and depict the pains and horrors of the cross so that sentiment is awakened, and crowds are moved to weep for the agony of Christ. That emotion of pity is a great part of some men's religion; they are not held by the power of truth, and drawn to submit in will and conscience to the authority of Jesus Christ; they are held by their emotions, and they fancy themselves good and religious because they are touched by the story. Like Pilate, they give way to pity for a moment, and then they turn back, under constraint of what is constant in their nature, to surrender Christ and His cause into the hands of His enemies. That is the religion of the crucifix, and it is a caricature of the religion of Jesus. He

is not now upon the cross; He has risen out from the shadow of that passing eclipse into clearest light. He asks not for our tears and our emotion, but, as Lord, He calls for our obedience, our homage, our trust. The truth in its tone is ever lordly; it does not entreat, it commands. And to the persuasiveness of truth Jesus Christ commits the fortunes of His cause.

This temper of Pilate's is one against which we need to watch, for the temptation is near of looking to other resources than the bare truth of the Christian message. When we are cheered by the numbers and influence of the members of the Church, by the prominence of the Christian nations in the world, by the roll of famous men who have been Christians, we may dwell so much on these external things as to miss the comfort of the truth itself. When there is an outward decline, many are despondent, as if the truth itself were in decline. And Church history in many of its chapters is altogether lamentable, as it tells of men's forgetfulness of the native power of the Christian facts. They have sought the countenance of kings as if the Church could not stand alone; they have imitated the trappings and the gaudiness of courts "as if the Church were a kind of second-rate world." It is needful for us to get clearness as to what it is we believe in, and why we believe in Christ; not, I trust, because of the visibility and impressiveness of the Church, not because the world is setting that way, or because of the fascination of a preacher who flatters our mood. A true disciple waits for no outward authority; when Christ speaks, his heart makes answer to the truth; when Christ calls, he rises, waiting for no man's example, and follows. He walks with Christ, content though the world take the other way, careless though men threaten, for he knows what force is on his side.

If any man will judge Christ rightly, he must receive into his mind the fact that of the powers which move the

world the greatest is that of truth. "The natural man," says Paul, "comprehendeth not the things of the Spirit of God"; he is so much engaged in learning to measure the things he can understand that, when he looks at Christ, he brings his ill-adjusted measures with him. "The things are spiritually discerned." In the roar of modern life, with its vast demands and its contempt for the unsuccessful, we need more than ever to pray, as the prophet did for his servant, "Lord, open his eyes!" For then he saw, between the town and the encompassing enemy, a host of heavenly protectors. If we had the open eyes, we should think less of the visible forces and the threat which is declared in them, for we should see the greater facts of truth, and right, and God. To make us proof against the solicitations of the worldly mind, we need with open face to behold the glory of God.

W. M. MACGREGOR.

ON THE LUCAN INTERPRETATION OF CHRIST'S DEATH.

DANTE, in his *De Monarchiâ* (Bk. i. 16), describes St. Luke as the writer of the story of "the meekness and gentleness of Christ," and the description is fully justified by the contents of the Third Gospel. By no other of the Synoptists is the winning and persuasive character of Christ's Person more attractively set before us, or the gracious character of His saving mission more strongly emphasized. Thus it is very significant that the Evangelist who, in the early part of his Gospel at any rate, follows closely the order of St. Mark, in one signal instance departs from it, and *antedates* Christ's preaching in the Synagogue at Nazareth, that in "the words of grace" there spoken he may have a fitting frontispiece for his whole Gospel (Luke iv. 16 ff.; comp. Mark vi. 1 ff.). For in recounting the scene he is not content, as are St. Matthew and St. Mark, with the mere mention of the fact of Christ's preaching, and the wonder which it aroused among His former fellow-townsmen, but in a long section peculiar to himself he shows how Christ on that occasion sketched as it were in outline His whole Messianic programme. He was come, as the Scripture had foretold that the Messiah would come, to preach good tidings to the poor, and to proclaim release to the captives and the bruised; and not only so, but His mission was a universal mission, embracing all in its wide scope, Gentile as well as Jew. In keeping with this introductory scene we are not, therefore, surprised to discover that it is to St. Luke we owe the preservation of such stories as those of the Woman that was a Sinner (vii. 36–50), of Zaccheus (xix. 1–10), and of the Penitent Thief (xxiii. 39–43), and of such parables as the Good Samaritan (x. 25–37), the Pharisee and the Publican (xviii. 10–14), and the Lost Son (xv. 11–32); and further, that of the six miracles, which he

alone records, five are miracles of healing (vii. 11–17; xiii. 11–17; xiv. 1–6; xvii. 12–19; xxii. 50, 51). Nor is it without significance in this connection to notice that, while in St. Matthew perfection is represented as the distinguishing attribute of God (v. 48), in St. Luke it is mercy (vi. 36); and that in addition to the special stress laid upon the office of the Holy Spirit, the Divine love and forgiveness, and man's consequent duties of faith and repentance, are brought before us in a manner that strongly recalls the teaching of the Pauline Epistles.

It is indeed to the influence exerted over the writer by St. Paul, an influence clearly recognised in tradition, that we owe many of the distinctive features of St. Luke's Gospel. Of direct literary borrowing, indeed, there seems to be little or no trace,[1] but in the general tone and character of the Gospel it is impossible not to recognise how largely St. Luke was *illuminated* by St. Paul.[2] How, indeed, could it have been otherwise? If, as seems certain both on external and internal grounds, the St. Luke of the Third Gospel is to be identified with the beloved physician and fellow-traveller of St. Paul, it would have been strange indeed if the great Apostle had not left some mark of his fresh and independent mode of thinking upon the future Evangelist, and stamped upon his mind that particular aspect of the Saviour's work which it was to be afterwards his privilege to illustrate. To this extent a *tendency* underlying St. Luke's writing may fairly be conceded, and his Gospel claimed as a Pauline Gospel in the sense that in a more marked degree than its predecessors it exhibits "the liberal and spiritual nature of Christianity."

[1] Perhaps the most interesting point of contact, "which is without doubt something more than a chance coincidence" (Sanday, *Book by Book*, p. 399), is the special notice of the appearance of the Risen Lord to St. Peter (Luke xxiv. 34 compared with 1 Cor. xv. 5)—a notice almost sufficient in itself to dispose of the charge of "anti-petrinism" sometimes made against St. Luke.

[2] "Ipse [Paulus] illuminator Lucæ" (Tertull. *adv. Marc.*, iv. 2).

The more clearly, however, this is recognised, the more are we struck by one very surprising feature of St. Luke's Gospel. Would it not be natural to expect that in a Gospel where Christ is distinctively held up before us as the Son of man, who "came to seek and to save that which was lost" (xix. 10), special stress would be laid upon the atoning significance of the death by which this was accomplished? Would we not, in fact, be justified in looking confidently to St. Luke to supplement the admittedly very scanty records of the other Evangelists in this respect, and to supply us with fresh links for connecting the later theological teaching of the Church with the historical representations of the Saviour's words and works? And yet, at first sight at least, the very opposite seems to be the case. For though, as we shall see afterwards, St. Luke has light of the most valuable kind to throw upon the inner meaning of Christ's death, it is not in the same way as the other Synoptists, and he appears rather deliberately to avoid the special teaching we owe to them.

For how does the case stand? Apart from the three occasions on which Jesus pointed forward to His death as the fulfilment of prophecy, and which are carefully preserved by all the three Evangelists,[1] there are only two distinct passages in St. Matthew and St. Mark in which our Lord Himself gives us a clue to the theological interpretation of His death. The first of these is found in Mark x. 45, and the literal closeness with which the words are reproduced in the First Gospel (Matt. xx. 28) shows the importance which St. Matthew attached to them—"For verily the Son of man came . . . to give His life a ransom for many." The second occurs in the account of the Last Supper: "This is My blood of the covenant, which is shed for many" (Mark xiv. 24), words which St.

[1] Matt. xvi. 21, Mark viii. 31, Luke ix. 22, Matt. xvii. 22, 23, Mark ix. 30, 31, Luke ix. 44, Matt. xx. 18, 19, Mark x. 33, 34, Luke xviii. 31–33.

Matthew again reproduces with the significant addition, apparently a comment of the Evangelist's own, "unto remission of sins" (Matt. xxvi. 28). But both these passages are awanting in the true text of St. Luke,[1] nor does he give us any direct equivalents for them.

Their omission is unquestionably surprising. Can we find any explanation for it? It is, of course, always possible to argue that St. Luke omitted the words simply because he did not find them in any of his sources. And had they occurred only in St. Matthew, with which in its present form it is an open question how far St. Luke was acquainted, there would have been some plausibility in the contention. But occurring as they do also in St. Mark, and forming part, apparently, of the original tradition, it seems impossible to doubt that St. Luke was acquainted with them, and that therefore some other explanation of their omission must be sought.

One such explanation has been offered by the late Prof. Bruce in his volume of studies on the Synoptic Gospels entitled *With Open Face*, where he connects St. Luke's reticence in this particular with the same writer's account of our Lord's "Agony" in the Garden at Gethsemane.[2] The question is here again somewhat complicated by uncertainty regarding the exact text; but if, as seems on every ground most probable, *vv.* 43, 44 are to be omitted from the Lucan account in chapter xxii.,[3] then it is undoubted that

[1] The textual evidence is not perfectly clear in the case of the second passage, but the words are placed in double brackets by Westcott and Hort, who in their *App.* come to the conclusion that there is "no moral doubt" that the words (Luke xxii. 19*b*, 20) "were absent from the original text of Lc." (ii. p. 64).

[2] p. 63 f.; p. 283 ff. The paper in which the fact of the omissions was drawn attention to was originally published in the Expositor, 1896, i. p. 207; but the explanation there promised first appears in the collected volume.

[3] Like Luke xxii. 19*b*, 20, they are retained by the Revisers, but placed in double brackets by Westcott and Hort, who, however, while denying them a place in the original text of St. Luke, regard them as embodying a true evangelic tradition (*App.* ii. p. 67).

St. Luke's account of the scene in the Garden is a somewhat "subdued" report, and does not lay the same stress as do St. Matthew and St. Mark upon the intensity of the Saviour's sufferings in view of His approaching death. And the reason of this, according to Prof. Bruce, is a certain deferring on the writer's part to "a tone of feeling" in the early Church, according to which "it would have appeared unfit that Jesus should be represented as afraid to die, or as passionately recoiling from the awful ordeal through which He was about to pass" (p. 303). But the adequacy or inadequacy of this explanation we need not stay at present to discuss, for whether it be accepted with regard to the account of Gethsemane or not, it does not meet the difficulty with regard to the omission of either of the passages already spoken of, for in neither of them is there any sign of shrinking on Christ's part from the death He saw to be awaiting Him, but rather a calm, confident statement of the nature of the work He was by that death to accomplish.

We must look, therefore, elsewhere for an explanation of St. Luke's omission of two passages which seem so well adapted to the whole scope of his Gospel. And though he is by no means confident that his own explanation covers the whole ground, it is at least to be sought, so it seems to the present writer, not in "local exigencies," but in the particular light under which St. Luke himself had come to regard the fact and bearing of Christ's death. What that light was one or two striking expressions which he is singular among the Evangelists in applying to it make sufficiently clear.

The first of these occurs in the account of the Transfiguration, where St. Luke represents Moses and Elias as speaking with Jesus of His decease (ἔλεγον τὴν ἔξοδον αὐτοῦ, ix. 31) which He was about to accomplish at Jerusalem, where the term ἔξοδος seems specially chosen to embrace not only Christ's Death, but His consequent Resurrection

and Ascension.[1] While much to the same effect, a little later in the same chapter, we are told that when Jesus steadfastly set His face to go to Jerusalem in the full consciousness of what awaited Him there, it was because "the days were being fulfilled" not merely that He should be put to death, but "that He should be received up" (ἐν τῷ συμπληροῦσθαι τὰς ἡμέρας τῆς ἀναλήμψεως, ix. 51), where the word used is the substantive form of the regular Biblical expression for ascending to Heaven.[2]

So, too, in xiii. 32, Christ's own word, which occurs only here, "Behold, I cast out devils and perform cures to-day and to-morrow, and the third day I am perfected" (τελειοῦμαι), cannot be taken as referring only to the close of His earthly life (as Godet), still less to the finishing of His Galilean ministry (as Bleek), or of the cures He had been working (as Meyer); but undoubtedly carries us forward to the goal of His whole mission, when, the sorrows and trials of earth left behind, He returned to the glory of the Father. Then only, according to the definite teaching of the Epistle to the Hebrews, where alone in the New Testament outside this passage this verb is applied to Christ, did Christ reach the state in which He could become "unto all them that obey Him the Author of eternal salvation."[3]

If, then, we take St. Luke's use of these three significant words and combine them with the fact that he represents Jesus on the Cross as uttering no cry of desertion, as in St. Matthew (xxvii. 46) and St. Mark (xv. 34), but rather as calmly commending His spirit into the hands of God,[4] and

[1] "Vocabulum valde grave, quo continetur Passio, Crux, Mors, Resurrectio, Adscensio" (Bengel).

[2] The substantive ἀνάλημψις is not found elsewhere in the New Testament or LXX.: but for the corresponding verb see Mark xvi. 19; Acts i. 2, 11, 22; x. 6; 1 Tim. iii. 16: comp. 1 Macc. ii. 58; Ecclus. xlviii. 9, xlix. 14; 2 Kings ii. 11 (Plummer, *in loco*).

[3] Heb. v. 9. Comp. ii. 10, vii. 28; and for the meaning of the three passages the present writer's *Theology of the Epistle to the Hebrews*, p. 80 ff.

[4] Luke xxiii. 46. "It is the first effect of the completion of redemption, the glorious prelude of the resurrection" (Godet).

the further facts that in his Gospel the risen Jesus appears as standing in a peculiarly close relation to His disciples, and as ascending from them in blessing—it seems impossible to escape the conclusion that it is particularly in the light of His present glory that St. Luke contemplates the necessity of the Saviour's sufferings. It is not that he denies the sacrificial or vicarious character of these—a thought which in some form must underlie the words of the other Evangelists which he omits—but that he passes beyond the offering of death to that of life, and thinks principally of the restored communion with God which Christ by His one offering of Himself has effected.[1]

Nor in this again does St. Luke really depart, as might at first seem to be the case, from the standpoint of his "companion Paul"; for it is becoming increasingly realized that in the Pauline theology the Resurrection of Christ is not merely the attestation of His saving work, but itself an integral part of it, and that "if, while we were enemies, we were reconciled to God through the death of His Son, much more, being reconciled, shall we be saved in His life" (Rom. v. 10).

It is no part, however, of the present paper to follow out this line of thought. All that we have been concerned to try to show is that, if there are omissions in St. Luke's narrative of Christ's teachings regarding His death, these are more than compensated for by the pregnant hints that he throws out regarding the true place of that death in the great scheme of Divine salvation.

G. MILLIGAN.

[1] This is in complete harmony with the more "advanced" Christology, which it is usual to associate with St. Luke, and which leads him to emphasize the miraculous beginning and the miraculous ending, between which the earthly life of Jesus falls. Jesus is for him above all else ὁ κύριος, a designation which always carries with it the thought of the Redeemer's present heavenly glory.

THE ROYAL ANCESTRY OF ZEPHANIAH.

In discussing the genealogy of the prophet Zephaniah, Prof. G. A. Smith says, "Zephaniah's great-great-grandfather Hezekiah was in all probability the king."[1] This is to state the case more strongly than has been usual, but not more strongly than is reasonable. I return to the subject because it is possible in one respect to strengthen Prof. Smith's argument,[2] and to maintain the probability of the royal ancestry of the prophet even in view of a less favourable chronology than that adopted by Prof. Smith.

The present state of opinion on the subject may be briefly summarized thus: that the Hezekiah who, according to Zephaniah i. 1, was the great-great-grandfather of the prophet, was identical with the king of Judah of that name, seems to some[3] impossible or improbable, to many[4] at least possible and not improbable, to many[5] probable.

There are several more or less weighty reasons for accepting the identification; there are no valid objections; for my main purpose in this note is to show that what is generally regarded as the most serious objection—the chronological—is invalid.

It will be well first of all briefly to recapitulate the reasons for the identification. (1) The genealogy of Zephaniah is, quite exceptionally, carried back four generations. In the titles of the remaining prophetic writings we find either only the name of the prophet;[6] or the names of the prophet

[1] *The Book of the Twelve Prophets*, ii. 47.

[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 40 f., 47, n. 2.

[3] *e.g.* Cornill, König: cf. earlier also De Wette-Schrader, *Einleitung* (Eighth Edition), § 299*a*.

[4] *e.g.* Reuss, Driver, Davidson.

[5] Hitzig, Wellhausen, Kuenen, Kautzsch.

[6] Amos 1. 1; Obad. 1. 1; Mic. 1. 1; Nah. 1. 1; Hab. 1. 1; Hag. 1. 1.

and his father;[1] or, in one instance,[2] the names of the prophet, his father, and his grandfather. The case is similar with other persons mentioned in the Old Testament narratives: to add to the name of a man that of his father is common, to add those both of his father and of his grandfather not uncommon,[3] but to carry the genealogy further back is quite exceptional. The reasons for so doing in 1 Samuel 9. 1, 14. 3 are obvious. In the former case the narrator is for the first time introducing the name of the future king of Israel; in the second the object is to bring out the connection of Ahijah with the famous priestly house of Eli. But what reason can be given for so exceptionally long a genealogy of Zephaniah, unless the most remote ancestor mentioned be a person of distinction, and what person of distinction can this Hezekiah be but the king? (2) Hezekiah was in pre-exilic times a rare name. It is probable that no pre-exilic person of the name is known except the king and the prophet's ancestor. (3) The number of compounds with the Divine name Yah in the genealogy is exceptionally great. This is most naturally accounted for in a person of royal descent. The last two reasons I have already drawn attention to and discussed somewhat more fully elsewhere.[4]

The objections to the identification are two: (1) Why, it is asked, is not Hezekiah described as king of Judah? (2) How could a great-great-grandson of king Hezekiah be old enough to prophesy in the early part of the reign of Josiah, who was but the great-grandson of the same king, and who, moreover, was very young when he came to the throne? The first objection has been often enough sufficiently answered. "To designate him [Hezekiah] king

[1] Isa. 1. 1; Jer. 1. 1; Ezek. 1. 3; Hos. 1. 1; Joel 1. 1; Jonah 1. 1.
[2] Zech. 1. 1.
[3] Jer. 41. 1 f.; 2 Kings 22. 3, 14.
[4] *Studies in Hebrew Proper Names*, p. 262.

was unnecessary for the contemporaries who knew the genealogy.[1] "The omission of the phrase *king of Judah* after Hezekiah's name proves nothing; it may have been of purpose, because the phrase has to occur immediately again."[2]

Now as to the chronological difficulty. No weight can be attached to the fact that there are four generations from Hezekiah through Amariah to Zephaniah, and only three through Manasseh to Josiah. For Manasseh's son Amon was not born till his father was forty-five years old (2 Kings 21. 1, 19). It would be absurd to insist that Amariah must have been equally old, or nearly as old, when his first son was born to him.

Everything turns on the natural possibility, and, let us add, on the natural probability, of four successive generations within the given time.

In the first place we must consider what is the given time; and here the crucial point is the date of Hezekiah's death. This unfortunately is uncertain. Prof. Smith puts it at 695. Others,[3] however, fix it as late as 686; the latest writer[4] on Hebrew chronology at 692. As least favourable to the theory of Zephaniah's royal descent, I accept, for purposes of argument, the latest of these dates.

If Hezekiah died in 686, Manasseh was born in 698 (2 Kings 21. 1). Manasseh was presumably, though not certainly,[5] Hezekiah's eldest son. And, therefore, if Zephaniah's great-grandfather Amariah was Manasseh's brother, it is unlikely that he was born before 697. But there is no reason why he should not have been born in

[1] Wellhausen, *Kleine Propheten* (Ed. 1), p. 147.

[2] Smith, *Twelve Prophets*, p. 47.

[3] Wellhausen, Kamphausen. Cf. W. R. Smith, *Prophets of Israel* (Second Edition), pp. 415–421, especially 421.

[4] Marti in *Encyclopædia Biblica*, 797–8.

[5] It was not always the eldest son that succeeded to the throne: see 2 Kings 23. 31, 36.

that year. Let us, however, assume the year 696 as the date of Amariah's birth.

The date at which Zephaniah prophesied is usually placed at about 625; in all probability he prophesied before, but not necessarily much before, 621.[1]

Assume that Zephaniah prophesied at about two or three and twenty—an age at about which it is likely that both Isaiah and Jeremiah began to prophesy—and the year of his birth must be fixed at about 648.

The question is—Is it possible, is it probable that Zephaniah was born when his great-grandfather Amariah was only forty-eight years old? The best answer to this is that the history of the same century furnishes us with facts that would constitute exact parallels.

Thus:[2]

Josiah was born when his father Amon was 16 years old.
Jehoahaz was born when his father Josiah was 16 years old.
Jehoiakim was born when his father Josiah was 14 years old.
Jehoiachin was born when his father Jehoiakim was 18 years old.[3]

Whence it follows that Jehoiachin was born when his great-grandfather was forty-eight.

In view of these facts, how can the chronological objection

[1] Driver, *Introd.* (Sixth Edition), p. 341.

[2] The references for the several facts are 2 Kings 21. 19, 22. 1; 22. 1, 23. 30 f.; 22. 1, 23. 34–36; 23. 36, 24. 6–8.

[3] It is true that according to 1 Chronicles 36. 9 in the Hebrew text and the Vatican Codex of the LXX. Jehoiachin was not born till his father was 28. But the reading in Chronicles, which makes Jehoiachin only 8 at his accession, is probably a mere transcriptional error. The Alexandrine Codex of the LXX., the Lucian recension, and the Peschito read (as in Kings) "18 years," and in any case the age of eight is most improbable. The references to Jehoiachin (=Coniah) in Jeremiah 22. 24–29 and Ezekiel 19. 5–9 imply that he was no mere child, but had attained maturity.

to the theory of Zephaniah's royal descent deserve any further consideration?

The fact is the chronological objection is based on disregard of the early age of maturity[1] in Syria.

It is unlikely that the royal ancestry of Zephaniah will ever become a matter of certainty; but the high probability of it rests on the fact that there are good reasons for it, and no valid objections against it.

G. Buchanan Gray.

[1] See Nowack, *Arch.* i. 156; and on early marriages at the present day in Syria, Baldensperger in *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement*, 1899, pp. 131 f.

A SECOND FIXED POINT IN THE PAULINE CHRONOLOGY.[1]

I. In Defence of English Scholarship.

Prof. Bacon's article, with its splendidly comprehensive title, seems to need little answer from me, as it raises several new questions with which I am not concerned, and in most of which I rejoice to be in agreement with him.

Especially in regard to "the use of German authorities" we are, apparently, perfectly harmonious.

His title puts my name in undeserved prominence. As has been stated in my previous article,[2] "my share may be left out of this case as quite unimportant": nothing that is characteristic of my views depends on the point in dispute. In fact, my own personal bias is towards the final result which Prof. Bacon claims to have reached, the justifying of Eusebius's chronology, if it can be reconciled with Josephus and with Acts. So far as persons are concerned, the point in regard to which I ventured to dissent from him was the scholarship and character of Mr. Lewin's book, *Fasti Sacri*. I thought Prof. Bacon had been unfair to it; and I think he is still more unfair to it in his reply. He seems to me to have no conception of the vast amount of independent, original judgment and investigation that are embodied in the book. Had *Fasti Sacri* been written

[1] In the following article only the first part was written in reply to Prof. Bacon's article; the rest has been in type for some time and corrected in first proof, being intended for the May number of the Expositor. Prof. Bacon complains (see Expositor, July, 1900, p. 13) that the editor kept back his articles under pressure of mine. To make the balance even, mine has now been kept back by the same power to follow his.

[2] Expositor, December, 1899, p. 431.

in the French or the German language, it would have attained great fame. But it is an English book, and has little chance of recognition. It is the character of good English work to conceal the labour involved in it, to seem as simple as possible, to make small parade of learning, and to appeal direct to the general reader. That feature—which I do not remember to have seen adequately stated anywhere —has been strongly brought before me while taking some interest in the adapting [1] of a foreign book on some New Testament questions to the English language. The book was a useful and able one, but it was made to look as learned as possible, and a great amount of unnecessary lumber was strewn over its pages which should have been left in the study. Mr. Lewin's *Fasti* has gone to the opposite extreme, and Prof. Bacon has evidently not even attempted to estimate the work on which it is built, and talks contemptuously of it, as if Lewin, for his system of dating, had depended solely on the nearest page in a German book. He seems not to admit the possibility that an English scholar works up the subject for himself, and states his own opinion formed on his own weighing of the evidence. He actually thinks that a passage of Eusebius's History, quoted by Mr. Turner, has been "borrowed from Lewin, who in turn borrowed it from Wieseler" (see p. 11). He may assume that both those Oxford scholars had read Eusebius for themselves, before they began to prepare their views for the public. He thinks too that Browne owes all his chronological theory to Wieseler. Wieseler published in 1843, Browne in 1844. Could a long book, involving much detail, have been even printed, much less conceived and worked into form, in that interval? So far as I know his book (which is not much), Browne is entirely pre-Wieselerian.

[1] This task was a friend's, but the proofs came before me, and elicited some small suggestions.

I should like to give a single example of the judgment and labour which lie behind the brief statements in the *Fasti*[1] (as those best know that have worked out the subject as a whole, and compared the book with others, point by point). Examples might be quoted from every page.

Unfortunately, Lewin's sane, unprejudiced, and wide view on most points is counteracted by a theory of Pauline chronology; and, while the book is far superior in practical usefulness to anything else that I know on the general chronology of the time, it is in Pauline questions often distorted by the idea—an idea almost universal, but strongest among the so-called "critical" school—that the ordinary principles of historical reasoning are suspended in all early Christian subjects.

I have no special right to speak on behalf of Mr. Lewin—only that of a careful reader, who differs from his Pauline chronology, but has learned much from his books, and is therefore not prejudiced in favour of his opinions, though grateful for instruction in method.

In the main subject of his paper Prof. Bacon seems to me, if I may without discourtesy say so, to wander from the point. He proves abundantly that the pure Jewish tradition in the later Roman period[2] refused to admit that any influence had ever been exerted by the astronomical science of the extra-Judaic world on the Jewish practice in the fixing of the Passover. According to the Jewish authorities the purely empirical, old Jewish method had always been the supreme and sole rule guiding the action of the Sanhedrin, and no extraneous knowledge or skill had ever been allowed to affect the procedure.

[1] An illustration, comparing the brief certainty of Lewin's handling of a date in 69–70 with the long, fumbling erroneousness of treatment in recent foreign works, has to be suppressed or postponed owing to the length of this article.

[2] For brevity's sake I use rough expressions. More exact ideas are already conveyed by Prof. Bacon, and may be assumed.

I did not dispute this, or raise any question on the point. I have no knowledge, except second-hand, of the Jewish view; but it appears to me that the question is merely darkened by taking it as the one authority.

But Prof. Bacon does not go so far as the Jewish authorities. He quite admits that before A.D. 70 astronomical considerations were allowed to influence the procedure of the Sanhedrin to a certain extent, and says that, "so far as he knows, it is not denied by any one that the decision of the Sanhedrin was influenced . . . by astronomical calculation."[1] He refers, of course, to modern scholars; the old Jewish tradition denies it, but all modern scholars see that that tradition conceals and ignores the influence exerted by astronomy on the Jews. Mr. Lewin and Prof. Bacon agree, in spite of the Jewish tradition, that some such influence was exerted, but they disagree as to the amount.

According to Prof. Bacon, the amount was not sufficient to enable Jews in the Roman provinces to know, independently of the official decision in Jerusalem, whether any year would be intercalary or not.

In this the whole point lies in the phrase "official decision." If it means that no official decision by the Sanhedrin was needed in the matter, I know of no person who has maintained that. The power remained with the Sanhedrin, and was exercised by it. We say, as emphatically as Prof. Bacon, "that the Sanhedrin reserved the right to decide." But the Sanhedrin did not abandon a right if it enabled Jews in Rome to know beforehand in what month they should come to Jerusalem for the Passover, or celebrate it in their own homes if unable to come. Prof. Bacon sees that before A.D. 70 the Sanhedrin must have made it possible, and did make it possible, for the Jews of

[1] See the full expression on p. 2.

Rome and the provinces to come to Jerusalem with full knowledge beforehand that at the full moon of such and such a month, and no other, the Passover would be held. To do that, it had to go beyond the empirical procedure, which had been sufficient previously, when almost all Jews were within two or three days' journey from Jerusalem. Yet the Jewish tradition pretends that the Sanhedrin had never gone beyond that procedure.

So far as the fixing of the month is concerned, we are all saying the same thing; and my distinguished friend on the other side errs only in insisting that we are differing from one another.[1] Only, when he has once admitted that the Jewish tradition is wrong in this point, he is hardly reasonable in insisting that we ought to consider it the one final authority in all other points, as he himself does.

For the reasons already stated,[2] I think (and believe that Mr. Lewin thought) that the Jews abroad who wished to attend the Feast in Jerusalem knew beforehand—*on the authority of the Sanhedrin*, doubtless—that the Passover would be fixed on the proper day of the proper month. Life in the Roman Empire was far more orderly and businesslike, travelling was more certain, engagements could be fixed, and were fixed, beforehand with far more confidence than the "Pre-Mommsenians"[3] have ever realized. I find it absolutely forced on me that

1. The author of *Acts* xx. 5 believed that the Passover in Philippi coincided with the Passover in Jerusalem, and that Paul in Philippi knew exactly on what day Pentecost would fall.

[1] Unless Prof. Bacon would maintain that the Sanhedrin would knowingly fix the astronomically wrong moon. He has, however, not maintained that, though he chooses a vague form of words, thereby concealing the essential agreement between us.

[2] Expositor, Dec., 1899, p. 434f.

[3] Prof. Bacon misapprehends the phrase, taking it, apparently, in a chronological sense. I mean it in the sense of method and point of view. Many scholars are still distinctly "pre-Mommsenian."

2. He had full ground for knowing that he was right in this belief.

3. This implies an official system, fixed beforehand on astronomical grounds by the Sanhedrin; but it does not imply that the old empirical ceremonies were disused; these were, doubtless, still maintained (as I already said), but the issue of them was already known.

It would be returning to the dark ages of history, if one should insist that things were so vague and happy-go-lucky as pure Jewish tradition implies in the first century. But this is a large subject, and cannot here be treated.

I would venture to refer Prof. Bacon again to the same writer whom I quoted at the end of my former article on the point—a writer who expresses the finest spirit of Judaism[1]—Mr. I. Abrahams in his *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages*. It is not the Jewish character to isolate itself from the thought and knowledge of surrounding society. Had that been so, the Jews would never have exerted that beneficial influence on the world which they have in fact exerted. Jewish nature is everywhere marvellously sensitive of and responsive to the influence of extra-Judaic forces. It was so in the first century as much as it ever has been since. The bad character and bad influence of various high priests and other "great" men among them at that time should not blind us to the fact that neither the Jewish nor any other nation is like its criminals, whether in high places or in humble rank.

But the orderly development of Judaism in the Empire was disturbed, first by calamitous wars and their far-reaching effects, and secondly by that unfair and hostile attitude towards the Jews which has often been the shame of Christianity. By these causes Jewish tradition was thrown in on itself, and became more resolved to maintain its

[1] Not that I have the slightest reason to think he would agree with what I am now maintaining.

isolation from outer influence, and to claim perfect self-sufficiency in its development. All persecution is calamitous in checking the natural growth of civilization, knowledge, and good manners. It may strengthen the fibre of the persecuted people; but it hardens them, and greatly diminishes, sometimes even destroys, the beneficial influence which they might exert on the progress of the world.

While Jewish tradition thus resolutely ignored every trace of its former ability to learn,[1] the Roman Empire also degenerated. The first century was, in mental vigour and in power of applying knowledge to life, superior to the third or fourth.

I have to retract and apologise for the argument in my previous article on p. 433, lines 18–25. Even had it been right, it was hypercritical, and did not advance my purpose. But, as Prof. Bacon proves at great length, it was wrong and unjust to him.

The decision on the question will come through the progress of discovery, if scholars will only concentrate their energy on the furthering of research in Palestine and Asia Minor, instead of permitting almost every scheme of work in those lands to languish or to die. But the most heart-rending feature in English scholarship is the waste and misdirection of work. The English rule in scholarship, as in politics, seems always to be: find out what a man can do well, and then set him to do something else: this will educate and enlarge his mind.

A recent paper by Dr. Erbes (quoted below) suggested various chronological studies, one of which follows as Part II., though it was written[2] when I had no thought that Prof. Bacon wished to continue his polemic. If it is correct, the Pauline chronology is fixed by a series of argu-

[1] Compare Abrahams, *op. cit.* p. 121, lines 20–22, for a later example of similar character.

[2] See the first footnote to this article.

ments, independent of each other and unaffected by the Jewish tradition, but all leading to the result which I have previously advocated, and which Prof. Bacon disputes. My argument from the Passover fixed 57 as the year in which St. Paul travelled to Jerusalem and was made prisoner. The following arguments fix 59 as the year in which Festus came to Cæsareia, and brought St. Paul's two years' captivity to an end by sending him to Rome.

II. The Coming of Festus in A.D. 59.

In a former number of the Expositor,[1] in an article entitled "A Fixed Point in Pauline Chronology," I tried to show (1) that the commonly accepted year 58 A.D. could not be the year in which the voyage described in *Acts* xx., xxi., took place; (2) that within the period left open for that voyage by other considerations only 57 suited the conditions prescribed by the narrative in Acts. Hence that fixed point has been taken in all my subsequent work as a pivot for the dating of the life of Paul; the imprisonment in Cæsareia lasted from 57 to 59, and Festus succeeded Felix in the summer of 59; but I have never ventured to make it a basis on which to rest any further historical inferences, though sometimes much tempted to do so. I hope now to confirm it by a number of distinct arguments, all pointing to the same conclusion.

The peculiar value of the chain of reasoning in that article was that it decisively set aside the years immediately round 57.[2] Now it is well known to all who have attempted the difficult problems which ancient chronology everywhere presents, that the greatest difficulty is caused by the fact that in almost every case the reasoning which assigns an event to a special year would be almost, if not

[1] See 1896, May, p. 336.

[2] On a proposed relaxation of the reasoning, which would admit 56, while excluding 58, see below, p. 101.

quite, equally well satisfied by the year next to it. Owing to the number of factors which must in all strict reasoning be expressed by a double year (*e.g.* 57–58, etc.), the extraordinary variety of eras used in different parts of the Mediterranean world, the variation as to the beginning of the year in different cities and countries (or even in the same city at different periods), and a host of other causes, we have to regard a vast number of dates, commonly assigned in popular books on history to a definite year, say, for example, 301 B.C., as uncertain and requiring to be expressed by such a form as 302-300 B.C. (or even by wider limits). Hardly a season passes without new discoveries being made, which either change or give precision to the dates hitherto accepted.

The uncertainty of Pauline chronology is therefore not peculiar to that one department of ancient history, and constitutes no proof of special uncertainty in it. But modern scholars rightly recognise that, owing to the importance of this subject, one must not be content to state a probable date as if it were certain (as current books and even most scholarly books do habitually in other departments of ancient history).[1] In New Testament history the scholar will give no date as certain which contains any serious element of uncertainty.

If *Acts* be accepted as a trustworthy book, that chain of reasoning fixes one event either in the year 57, or in some year impossibly late or impossibly early. But such reasoning has no value for the ordinary pseudo-critic, who starts with the assumption that *Acts* is always inaccurate, except where external evidence is available to prove that its narrative is trustworthy.

[1] The older custom of assuming an arbitrary system of chronology in the New Testament, and speaking of dates as if they were certain, is not wholly banished even from such an admirable work as Dr. Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*; *e.g.* I. p. 129, where A.D. 52 is named as the year when Claudius expelled the Jews, as if it were a fixed and certain point.

Even to scholars who did not altogether despise the book of *Acts* as evidence on such a point there seemed to be at least one uncertainty in the dating. The Eusebian chronology would place the journey in question so very early as to come within the limits of possibility prescribed by *Acts*; but for various reasons the Eusebian chronology seemed to me not deserving of serious consideration. It was, however, taken up by two such high authorities as Prof. Harnack of Berlin, and Prof. McGiffert of New York, in works published soon after my article. It therefore became necessary to discuss Eusebius's dating more thoroughly, and this was done in an article in the EXPOSITOR.[1] I had a decided predilection for the Eusebian view, if it were possible. For many years the tendency of my work has been to find the ancient authorities more trustworthy than the extremists believe; and I had a strong predisposition in favour of the attempt by two such distinguished scholars to justify Eusebius; but several lines of reasoning showed his dating to be either improbable or in clear contradiction to good authorities.

Recently Prof. Bacon has published in the EXPOSITOR a series of articles on the subject.[2] After an elaborate examination he claims to support the Eusebian chronology, and places the voyage of *Acts* xx.–xxi. in A.D. 55. His reasoning, after careful study, seems to me unconvincing in the essential points; and the most serious error lies in calling his system Eusebian. Really he is in flat contradiction to Eusebius.

The facts are these: Eusebius's text has not survived. Our authorities are: (1) an Armenian translation of his *Chronica*; (2) Jerome's Latin translation, with numerous additions of his own; (3) excerpts, especially those in

[1] March, 1897, p. 201 ff.

[2] "A Criticism of the New Chronology of Paul," Nov., Dec., 1899.

Syncellus's *Chronographia*.[1] Put dogmatically and shortly, the Eusebian account of Felix is as follows :—

Eusebius mentioned under the year 54[2] that Felix was succeeded by Festus. This is shown both by the Armenian translation and by the order of Syncellus. Now Eusebius knew well that Festus was selected and sent by Nero: he tells us so in his History. Syncellus also knew it, and quotes Eusebius's History to that effect; but, bound by the order in the *Chronica*, he tells all about Paul and Felix under the heading of Claudius, and then begins a new heading, "Emperor of the Romans VI Nero, XIII years."

The simple Armenian translation reproduced the order.[3] But Jerome was too learned to keep such a thoroughly false order. He brought down Festus from 54 into the reign of Nero to 56, and the events under Felix correspondingly, the riot of the Egyptian from 51 to 53, that in Cæsareia from 53 to 55.

Obviously, Prof. Bacon has no justification in quoting Eusebius as supporting his date 57 for the coming of Festus. We strongly assert the uncertainty of ancient chronology; but it does not follow that, when an ancient writer gives a date 54 or 56, we may call it 57, and quote that writer as authority for 57. Prof. Bacon has every right to advance a new theory of date; but he should not call his theory the Eusebian. He deserves best thanks for his investigation; but his result is simply to prove that

[1] It is not clear what is the meaning of Prof. Bacon's references to the Eusebian Chronicle as a distinct authority from Jerome and from Arm. (see, *e.g.*, EXPOSITOR, December, 1899, p. 417 note, six lines from bottom of page).

[2] I put his reckoning into simple modern form.

[3] Eusebius did not shrink from putting Festus in 54, though he knew Nero sent him, because he also knew that Nero began to reign during 54, though on his system of counting by whole years he calls 55 the first year of Nero. We, however, know that Festus came soon after midsummer, while Nero succeeded to the throne in October.

not a shred of ancient authority can be quoted for his date.

But why did Eusebius fall into such a false arrangement? This was long obscure, but has recently been explained in the detailed criticism of the foundation on which the Eusebian chronology rests by Dr. Carl Erbes, in a paper entitled "Todestage Pauli und Petri,"[1] published in 1899.

Dr. Erbes shows that the Eusebian system of Palestinian chronology for the period 52–59 contains various blunders, resting on certain misconceptions of Eusebius as to the dates of Agrippa II. (the Agrippa of *Acts* xxvii.). No one who reads Dr. Erbes's paper is likely to recur to Eusebius as an authority for the early dating. The argument on which Prof. Bacon lays so much stress in EXPOSITOR, December, 1899, p. 423, lines 6, 7, shrivels up before Dr. Erbes's previously published criticism.

Dr. Erbes's reasoning is not all equally convincing throughout the paper. Like Prof. von der Goltz[2] we must accept the general principle of his criticism of Eusebius, and regard some other parts as fanciful theorizing. One point closely concerns our present purpose. Put briefly and roughly, with a necessary correction, it is this. Eusebius put Festus's entrance on office five years too early, owing to a peculiarity in the dating of Agrippa's years. Eusebius wrongly took A.D. 45 as the first year of Agrippa's reign, whereas A.D. 50 was the first year (as we know from Josephus).[3] He found in his authority[4] that Festus was sent in a certain year[5] of Agrippa; and, erroneously reckoning from 45 instead of 50, he set down in his

[1] *Texte und Untersuchungen*, xix. 1, p. 1 ff.

[2] Review of Erbes in *Theolog. Litteraturztg.*, Oct., 1899.

[3] His reason was that 44 was the last year of Herod Agrippa I. (Acts xii.), and he therefore made 45 the first of his son Agrippa II. (Acts xxvi.). But there was an interval, Josephus, *Ant*, xix. 9, 2, xx. 5, 2; *Bell.*, ii. 11, 6; 12, 1; 14, 4.

[4] Possibly Justus of Tiberias, an opponent of Josephus, as Erbes suggests.

[5] Tenth, as I think; eleventh, according to Erbes.

Chronicle that Festus came to Palestine in A.D. 54, five years too early.

Thus we must transform Eusebius's date 54 for the appointment of Festus into 59; and we find a Eusebian confirmation of the reasoning from *Acts* on which I have always relied. Paul's voyage to Jerusalem, therefore, was in the spring of 57: when arrested, he was thought by Lysias to be the Egyptian that caused the riot a few months before; in 59 Festus sent him to Rome.

But Dr. Erbes, assuming the old theory that Paul was sent to Rome in 60, and that a misreckoning of five years would give 55, reasons thus: the Armenian translation says 54, and Jerome says 56, therefore the common Eusebian Greek original must have assigned 55 as the year when Festus was sent to Judæa. That leaves unexplained why Syncellus and the Armenian translation transferred an event from the time of Nero into the Claudian paragraph.

I shall now proceed to advance another argument, founded solely on coins and on Josephus, to prove that not 60, but 59, was the year when Festus, coming to govern Palestine, sent Paul to Rome for trial.

It is well known that there were a number of different eras used in the reign of Herod Agrippa II., according as one or another of various important events in his reign was made an epoch, and the year in which the epoch-making event occurred was taken as the year 1. It is, therefore, sometimes difficult to tell from which of the various eras some of the dates on the coins or inscriptions in question were reckoned. In this subject we shall follow the ordinary numismatic and archæological authorities, who have no theories to distort their judgment, but simply go where the evidence leads them, and we shall avoid the scholars who write about early Christian antiquities,[1] because they treat dates on coins and

[1] I have read many important and recent works on the subject, whose divergences from the view here stated are tacitly passed by (see p. 94, note 3).

inscriptions as witnesses whose evidence must be tortured into conformity with their theories.

Avoiding the theological authorities, we turn to De Saulcy, Madden, Niese, and Mommsen;[1] and ask what is the free natural outcome of their opinions, amid the many points of dispute among them. There was an era dating from the refoundation by Herod Agrippa II. of Cæsareia Philippi as his capital, under the new name Neronias. That era had A.D. 61–62 as its year 1: the year may be confidently assumed to have begun in the spring, as was customary in Southern Syria,[2] and hence Neronias was founded either in the summer or autumn of 61, or the early spring of 62. The occasion, doubtless, was signalized by some imperial favour to Agrippa, and became an era employed in a number of cases known to us, but it would be out of place to enter upon the question here.[3]

The important point to observe is that the refoundation of Cæsareia as Neronias occurred after Albinus had succeeded Festus as procurator of Palestine. Josephus leaves no opening for doubt on this point. He describes[4] Albinus as having been present in Jerusalem some time before a certain feast of the Jews, and Neronias as founded about the time of that feast. Lewin and many other authorities, among whom is Dr. Erbes, understand that the festival in question

[1] De Saulcy, *Etude Chronologique des Monnaies des rois Agrippa*; Madden, *Coins of the Jews*; Mommsen in *Wiener Numismat. Zeitschrift*, 1871, p. 451 ff. Some of their reckonings must be slightly modified in accordance with the principle established by Niese, *Hermes*, xxviii. p. 212 ff., that Josephus reckoned the year 1 of Claudius to begin in spring on 1 Xanthikos of A.D. 44, 1 of Nero in spring 55 (see also Erbes in *Zft. f. Wiss. Theologie*, xxxix. p. 415 ff, who is scientific in method and important).

[2] See Clermont Ganneau, *Recueil d'Arch. Orient.*, I. p. 8 ff.; Niese in *Hermes*, xxviii. 1893, p. 208 ff.; and my *Christ Born in Bethlehem*, p. 221 ff.

The exact year is fixed thus: 25 and 26 of the era both correspond to A.D. 86 (twelfth consulship of Domitian). The Biblical critics doubt that this era was connected with Neronias. It is not possible here to discuss the question fully; and partial discussion can never be quite fair.

[3] *Ant. Jud.*, xx. 9, 1 ff.

was the Feast of Tabernacles, in October A.D. 62. It is, indeed, quite certain that Albinus was in Jerusalem on that occasion; but, as Neronias cannot have been founded later than the early spring of 62, that date is impossible. Other reasons confirm this (see below).

There are three alternatives:—1. Passover of A.D. 61, March 24.[1] Neronias would then have been founded in April–May, A.D. 61. This would suit the course of the narrative of Josephus, for he tells about Neronias after he has spoken of the feast and the serious events that occurred at and after it, which probably implies that Neronias was founded after rather than before the festival. This date will, however, be found impossible.

2. Feast of Tabernacles, A.D. 61, September 18: Neronias founded shortly after. This will be found to be highly probable.

3. Passover of A.D. 62, April 12: Neronias would be founded about March of that year. This cannot be decisively disproved, but two separate arguments tell strongly against it. It places the foundation before the feast instead of after; and, moreover, another line of reasoning suggests that the Feast of Tabernacles in 61 was the occasion. That line of reasoning is somewhat long; but it leads to highly important results, and we now proceed to it.

Festus, the predecessor of Albinus, had permitted the Jews to send an embassy to Rome to complain of the conduct of Herod Agrippa II. That king had built a tower on his palace in Jerusalem from which he could overlook the ceremonies performed by the Jews at the Temple. The Jews built a wall to intercept his view, and Agrippa then procured from his friend Festus an order that they should demolish the wall. The Jews, however, induced Festus to postpone execution of the order until

[1] Prof. Bacon would perhaps put it a day later; that is immaterial for our argument. So with the Passover of 62.

they sent an embassy to Rome. This embassy doubtless went in summer, while the sea was open, and travel was easy and safe.[1] Moreover, the high priest was a member of it, and he was not allowed to be absent from Jerusalem at the Passover. May, therefore, probably was the month in which the embassy sailed, doubtless from Cæsareia, the capital of the province. Now the year 62 is excluded by the considerations just stated, and there remains therefore only May 60 (or May 61).[2]

The embassy was successful through the influence of Poppæa; but the high priest was detained in Rome by her. When news of this was brought to Palestine, Agrippa appointed Joseph, son of Simon, high priest.

Obviously these events occupied considerable time. The embassy had to travel to Rome, a long, slow process with the prevailing westerly breezes of the Levant.[3] Some residence and negotiation in Rome must be allowed. The return journey would be more rapid, as the winds favoured the voyage back. But we can hardly suppose that the elevation of Joseph to the high priesthood occurred before the end of September, either 60 (or 61) A.D., and probably it was still later in the season.

The next event mentioned by Josephus is the reception by Nero of the news of Festus's death. The message would be carried to Rome, of course, faster than the ambassadors would travel; but, on the other hand, the bad season of the year had now begun, and travelling by sea would be slower and less certain.[4]

[1] Sea open from 10 March; but still dangerous till 15 May.

[2] Here, and in the following paragraphs, alternative years are given. In the sequel it will be shown that the later alternative in each case is impossible. For clearness' sake, therefore, the second alternative is always put in parentheses.

[3] See *St. Paul the Trav.*, p. 317.

[4] As to the time needed for messages of great events (death of emperors) going from Rome to Egypt, some striking statistics are given by Wilcken, *Griech. Ostrak.*, i. p. 800 ff. We add (1) that such messages would go much

Nero nominated Albinus to succeed Festus. Agrippa deposed Joseph from the high priesthood, and put Ananus in his place; and apparently this was done before the news of Albinus's appointment arrived at Jerusalem.

Ananus brought James the Just and some other Christians before the Sanhedrin, and had them stoned to death. His violent conduct caused strong disapproval among the better Jews, and they sent secretly to Agrippa, requesting him to forbid such conduct in future. Moreover, learning that Albinus was appointed, some of the Jews sent messengers to meet him as he was coming from Alexandria, denouncing the action of Ananus as illegal, inasmuch as it had been carried out without the procurator's approval.

Why and how could the Jews in Jerusalem know that Albinus was to be found in Alexandria? Alexandria was not on the road from Rome to Jerusalem, and no official coming from Rome could have been expected as a matter of course to pass through Alexandria. Obviously Albinus must have been holding a position there when he was transferred to the government of Palestine. The Jews, hearing of his nomination, heard also where he was to be found.

Now, we learn from Eusebius and Hegesippus that James the Just was murdered at a Passover;[1] and this Passover must have been either that of 61, beginning 24 March (or 62 A.D.).[2] Lewin thinks that the stoning would not

faster in summer than in winter, perhaps by direct voyage to Egypt; (2) that return messages to Rome were much slower on account of the prevalent westerly winds of the Levant.

[1] While it is true that the details in the account quoted from Hegesippus by Eusebius, ii. 23, are to some extent due to creative imaginative tradition, there seems no reason to question the coincidence with a Passover. That was a natural time for the outbreak, and tradition was likely to preserve the memory of the occasion. Moreover, the following paragraphs confirm our theory of the correspondence of events with seasons of the year.

[2] 24 March is given in the Hieronymian Martyrology as *Passio S. Jacobi Apostoli fratris Domini*, a striking confirmation. The Armenian Version of

take place until the days of Unleavened Bread were ended, as the Law forbade any execution to take place during the feast. But the tradition clearly was that James's death, like that of Jesus, coincided with the preparatory day.

Albinus wrote an indignant letter to Ananus, threatening to punish him for his conduct. Thereupon [1] Agrippa deposed Ananus, after he had held office for only three months, and made Jesus, son of Damnaios, high priest in his place. A month at least must have elapsed between the crime and the deposition; for Agrippa was evidently absent from Jerusalem (probably engaged on duties under Corbulo in the frontier wars, as Lewin points out). The high priesthood of Ananus, therefore, lasted from about early February to early May, A.D. 61 (or from the end of February to the end of May, A.D. 62).

Thus we see that the events between the departure of the Jewish embassy to Rome, and the deposition of Ananus, occupied a full year. During a considerable part of that time Festus had been dead; the affairs of the province had drifted into anarchy; and the Assassins, *sicarii*, whom Festus had put down for the time, became once more a serious danger.

Albinus came to Palestine soon afterwards. He doubtless had to spend some days or weeks in Alexandria, putting affairs in order for his successor. Then he came to Cæsareia, the capital, and took over the government. After this was done, involving one or two days' delay, he seems to have gone to Jerusalem, as the point first calling for serious attention (just as his predecessor, Festus, had done, Acts xxv. 1). There Albinus made it his first duty to put down

Eusebius rightly assigns the martyrdom to A.D. 61, but Jerome moves it to A.D. 62.

[1] διὰ τοῦτο, says Josephus, evidently referring to the action of Albinus: Agrippa did not care to support his nominee against the strong disapproval of the Roman governor.

the Assassins and give peace to the country. This was a matter that needed more than a few days or a few weeks; and Josephus says he devoted much care and forethought to the task.

During this time a former high priest, Ananias (Acts xxiii. 2, xxiv. 1), who had been deposed several years previously by Agrippa, was the most influential person in Jerusalem; and by means of his great wealth he continually increased his power by giving bribes to Agrippa and the present high priest, Jesus. At the same time he added to his wealth by illegally collecting the tithes due to the priests (some of whom were starved in consequence); and his servants went round the threshingfloors and seized the tithes for him. This confirms the view we have taken as to the season of the year. The summer was now at its height in the end of June or in July; and, when the wheat was threshed and ready, the servants of Ananias went round and carried off the tithes.

There followed a feast, at which a daring outrage was perpetrated by the Assassins. They carried off out of the midst of Jerusalem the secretary of Eleazar, son of Ananus, and held him to ransom, sending to Ananias to offer to release him, if he persuaded Albinus to set free ten captive Assassins. This was done, and the concession proved the beginning of much mischief, as the Assassins now made a practice of capturing Ananias's servants and holding them to ransom in exchange for any captives of their number.

It was about the time of this feast that Neronias was founded. The reasoning of the last two paragraphs suggests that the feast was that of Tabernacles in October, following the coming of Albinus; but it does not wholly exclude a later feast, as the governor's operations against the *sicarii* might have lasted a long time. The coincidence with the foundation of Neronias, however, excludes any feast later than the Passover, A.D. 62.

Thus we have narrowed down the issue to either the Feast of Tabernacles, A.D. 61, or the Passover, A.D. 62, with a preference for the former. In either case we have succeeded in fixing precisely the whole preceding series of events from the embassy onwards as follows:—

Embassy goes to Rome	May, 60
Agrippa makes Joseph high priest	about Oct., 60
Death of Festus. . .	autumn or early winter, 60
Agrippa makes Ananus high priest	early Feb., 61
Murder of James the Just	24 March, 61
Agrippa makes Jesus, son of Damnaios, high priest	early May, 61
Albinus comes to Cæsareia and Jerusalem, late May or June	61
Foundation of Neronias . . .	probably Oct., 61 or at latest, early spring, 62

Most previous writers on the subject assume that the feast at which the Assassins captured Eleazar's secretary was that of Tabernacles, A.D. 62, because it is certain that Albinus was present in Jerusalem on that occasion. But besides the coincidence with the foundation of Neronias, an established and certain date, we notice that: (1) It is not at all clear from Josephus that Albinus was in Jerusalem at the feast when the secretary was captured, for the negotiations between the Assassins, the governor, and Ananias, might be very well carried on, while all the parties were in different places. (2) Josephus expressly says that at the Feast of Tabernacles in 62, when Albinus was in Jerusalem, the city was enjoying profound peace and order.[1] He could not reasonably say this of the Feast at which such an outrage was perpetrated in the city by the *sicarii*.[2]

[1] *Bell. Jud.*, vi. 5, 3.

[2] But see below, p. 104.

We have thus a series of events definitely fixed from May 60 to October 61 (or, perhaps, April 62). They are fixed by several separate coincidences with feasts and seasons of the year. It follows that: (1) Festus, who came to govern Palestine in the height of summer,[1] probably in July, must have arrived in Cæsareia not later than A.D. 59. (2) The voyage of Paul from Cæsareia to Rome began not later than the autumn of that year, and ended in February following. (3) The journey of Paul from Philippi to Jerusalem (Acts xx., xxi.) took place not later than the year 57.

Mr. C. H. Turner, in his admirable article on the chronology of the New Testament,[2] while accepting the principle of the reasoning from the lapse of days in Acts xx. 5 ff., contends for a relaxation of the conditions regarding the Passover which would admit 56 as the year of the voyage described in Acts xx., xxi. But it has been argued in the EXPOSITOR, December, 1899, p. 438, that such a relaxation is not justifiable; and Dr. Erbes's line of argument tends strongly to push the series of events later than Mr. Turner allows.

There remains one question as to the dating which we propose. Is it possible that the events in the administration of Festus could have all occurred during the time that we assign to him—about fifteen or sixteen months? Taken as a whole, that is generally accepted as quite possible. Hardly any authorities assign two full years of government to Festus. Almost all are agreed that he died during his second year. Josephus is clearly opposed to the exceptionally long term 54 to 60 assigned to Festus by the Eusebian dating (56 to 61 in Jerome).

Little is recorded by Josephus about Festus. The embassies sent by the Cæsarean Jews and the Cæsarean Syrians to Rome, with the events connected with them, must cer-

[1] This is universally admitted. [2] Hastings' *Dict. of the Bible.*

tainly have occupied some considerable time ;[1] but they were sent under Felix, and may have reached Rome late in 58 or in 59. They returned to Cæsareia after Festus came.

This embassy in 59 found the leading court influence anti-Jewish.[2] In 60 the leading influence was Jewish. History explains the difference. In 59 Poppæa was struggling for mastery with Agrippina, Nero's mother. Until that struggle was ended, Poppæa was always in danger from her terrible enemy, whose power might at any moment revive. Even after the murder of Agrippina in the latter part of March 59, while Nero dreaded the consequences, Poppæa was not so firmly seated as she became before the next embassy in the summer of 60, when her Jewish favouritism was the ruling influence in Rome.

The successful operations of Festus against the Assassins would also take some time; but they were evidently the first and chief concern of Festus, and may be easily included in an autumn campaign during 59 and the whole summer of 60.

No difficulty is caused by the building operations of King Agrippa, and the counterbuilding on the part of the Jews in Jerusalem (alluded to above). Dr. Erbes assigns a year to these works, and we may fairly take that estimate as the extreme. But it is not necessary to suppose that Agrippa began his building after Festus arrived; and Josephus says nothing implying that. The building of a chamber on the roof (which is all that Josephus mentions) need not have taken long; and the Jewish counter-wall would not occupy many months. Josephus expressly says that these incidents were contemporary with those pre-

[1] Josephus, *Ant. Jud.*, xx. 8, 9; *Bell. Jud.*, ii. 13, 7.

[2] The riot in Cæsareia, which led to the rival embassies, occurred (according to Jerome and Eusebius alike) in the year before Felix was recalled and Festus appointed, *i.e.* in 58.

viously described; and we leave for them June 59 to April or May 60, which seems abundant.

Our argument would be not inconsistent with an earlier date than 59 for Festus's entrance on office. It absolutely excludes a later date. The earlier date is disproved by reasons already well known, and some of them well stated by Dr. Erbes.

But the events which we have found to extend over about eighteen months from a point shortly after one Passover until the Feast of Tabernacles in the following year are treated very differently by Dr. Erbes. He crowds them all together into the short space of less than six months. He fully acknowledges (p. 20) that the Jewish embassy must have started from Jerusalem shortly after a Passover, for the reasons stated above. The going and coming of the high priest's embassy to Rome, the tenure of the high priesthood by Joseph and by Ananus, the conveying of the news of Festus's sudden death to Nero, the appointment of a successor to Festus, the bringing of this news to Jerusalem, the going and coming of the envoys to Alexandria, the coming of Albinus to Cæsareia and to Jerusalem, his operations against the *sicarii* and the resulting peace—all these are supposed to have occurred in the six months.

The mere enumeration seems quite sufficient. There is not time enough for the events within six months.

The sole reason that Dr. Erbes has for trying to crowd them up so closely is that he believes Festus to have lived on into the summer of A.D. 62. This he infers from the fact that the Jewish embassy which Festus allowed to go to Rome to complain of Agrippa was successful with Nero because he desired to please τῇ γυναικὶ Ποππαίᾳ. He argues that Josephus would not have used the honourable term τῇ γυναικὶ about Poppæa until after her marriage, May 62. But Josephus speaks of Poppæa as a "God-

fearing" woman in this passage,[1] and tells how she aided the Jews to gain the favour of Nero. Is it conceivable that Josephus would have applied an opprobrious title (as Erbes will have it) to a woman whom the course of his subject obliges him to describe as "God-fearing"? One finds it hard to see what other expression except "the woman Poppæa" Josephus was likely to use. The word γυνή is quoted in the lexicons as applied to a concubine as well as to a wife. Dr. Erbes has no good ground for his inference.[2]

Further, besides the overcrowding, there are positive arguments against Dr. Erbes's theory.

1. He identifies the Feast of Tabernacles when the city was quiet with the one when the Assassins entered Jerusalem and carried off a Jew of rank.[3]

2. He disregards the authority of Hegesippus that James the Just was killed at Passover time. Hegesippus, after all deductions for a certain degree of legend that had attached itself to the death of James, is an early and first-rate authority. In opposition to this Dr. Erbes argues that 25th July, the day assigned by the Roman Church for the martyrdom of James the son of Zebedee (which is, of course, wrong), must be taken as that of the martyrdom of James the Just. Such conjectural remodelling of a tradition has no value as evidence.

The coincidence between two so different trains of reasoning, the old one based solely on the text of *Acts*, the new

[1] τῇ γυναικὶ Ποππηίᾳ (θεοσεβὴς γὰρ ἦν) ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἰουδαίων δεηθείσῃ χαριζόμενος (*Ant. Jud.*, xx. 8, 11).

[2] Mr. Lewin draws the opposite inference from the passage: he infers that she was still only a mistress, not a wife, and contrasts the language used two chapters later by Josephus, φίλην οὖσαν τῆς Νέρωνος γυναικός (*Ant. Jud.*, xx. 11, 1). That also is wrong: xx. 8, 11, might quite well mean either "desiring to please his wife Poppæa," or "the woman." Josephus chose an ambiguous term on purpose, and no inference is permissible: such is the general opinion, as Prof. Bacon rightly says.

[3] But, probably, not too much stress can be laid on the epithet εἰρηνευομένης in Josephus, *B. J.*, vi. 5, 3: he uses it merely in contrast to the state of war four years later.

one solely on coins and Josephus, forms a peculiarly strong confirmation of our dating; the very old tradition as to the *Passio* of James on 24th March completes the proof; a third line of argument, suggested by Erbes, suits 59 better than his date 60, and makes it highly probable that Eusebius used an authority who placed the coming of Festus in 59; and Josephus's narrative acquires far greater lucidity and completeness (so far as I can judge) when read on this chronology.

Not very many dates in ancient history seem to be fixed by so many converging arguments as the captivity in Cæsareia. To myself, almost the most satisfactory part of it is that which is due to Dr. Erbes, the explanation of Eusebius's misplacement of Festus through inference from his admitted mistake as to the numbering of Agrippa's years. Chronologists know how fruitful a cause of error the change from one chronological system to another has been.

W. M. Ramsay.

DOCTRINES OF GRACE.

The Mercy of Future Punishment.

When the average Christian speculates about the future, his eyes turn from the right hand of the Throne where the sun is shining, to the left hand where the shadows are resting, and he is less concerned about the righteous who go into life eternal than about those who go away into everlasting punishment; and in this bias of thought he proves both the charity of his heart towards sinners, and the confidence of his faith about saints. He were surely not worthy to be called after Christ's name who should be willing that any person be condemned to endless misery, and he would be unworthy of the name of man who could think of his fellow-creatures in a hopeless hell without dismay. About the condition of the righteous, however, in this world, and in that which is to come, there can be no doubt. If a man lives godly in this present life, he may suffer loss and pain, but even now he is rewarded by the approval of his conscience and the respect of good men, which both are the voice of God. When he passes from this life into the unseen, it matters not where he lands or in what circumstances he be placed, he must be welcome, and he must be blessed through all the vast regions of the other world. There is no place in the moral universe of God where it shall not be well with the godly man; and if we turn away when he enters through the gates into the City, and withdraw our mind from his life, it is because he is following the Lamb whithersoever He goeth and his joy is beyond imagination. We are not troubled about John, for he is with the Lord whom he loved; but we are very much troubled, and it were a shame if we were not, about Judas Iscariot. It is unfortunate that when we ask what is to become of the ungodly, we have been embarrassed by

what may be called accretions upon the doctrine of punishment which have been very offensive and which are quite without authority.

The Church has taught from her pulpits in past ages that the impenitent sinner would be consumed, body and soul, in physical fire, and eloquent preachers enlarged for the highest ends upon the horrors of his fate; and so the Church by her servants made the salutary doctrine of punishment an offence to the reason, since it is evident that nobody could endure such fire without being destroyed, and that no soul could be touched with such fire at all; and an offence against the conscience, since it implies that God would exercise His miraculous power to secure the torture of His creatures. When our Lord spoke of fire, it can hardly be seriously contended that He meant that literal fire whose filthy smoke polluted the valley of Hinnom, but it is not therefore to be inferred that the reality would be less than the figure. A fire of remorse in the soul will surely be more bitter to bear than the burning of the flesh, for the one touches our feelings at the quick, the other only at their dullest. One would rather thrust his hand into the flame than strike the person whom he loves, and Peter, on the night of the denial, would have welcomed a Roman sword in his heart if his flowing blood could have wiped out the words of his lips. The brief agony of fire, cruel though it might be for the moment, would be to many a man a welcome escape from vain and lasting regrets.

It is also a slander against God to suggest that the punishment of the ungodly is an act of personal revenge on His part in which He takes some kind of satisfaction and delight. As if He were an Almighty and malignant despot, whom some poor creature of His hands had offended and injured by his sinning, and who now exacted a thousandfold from him for all the wrong which he had done to his

Creator! As if God were a greater Moloch, casting men into a furnace as a sacrifice to His honour, instead of being the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who, like a father, pitieth His children, and spared not His own Son for our salvation.

This doctrine has also been discredited by the once prevalent idea that a man's future would be decided by his creed, and that a human being might be consigned to unending suffering because he happened to be a Protestant and not a Roman, or a Unitarian and not a Trinitarian. No serious person will allow himself to belittle the value of correct thinking in matters of religion, or will undervalue the connection between thought and action, but it were monstrous to suppose that an error in the process of reasoning on the most difficult and intricate of subjects—the mysteries of religion—should bring such a doom upon any man's head. We have really only one account of the last judgment, but it is sufficient because it came from the lips of Christ, and the distinction which Jesus makes between the sheep and the goats is that which we all make in the judgment of daily life—the distinction, not of creed, but of character. If any man be sent to hell, it is well that every one should understand he will find himself there, not on account of what he believed or did not believe, but on account of what he was.

Perhaps it is even more exasperating when the problem of punishment is mixed up with the problem of the heathen, and it is assumed that the nations which have lain outside the line of Jewish and Christian revelation will suffer doubly at the hands of God; first, because they knew not Christ, and second, because knowing not Christ they could not believe in Him, and therefore must suffer everlasting death. Surely the Judge of all the earth will do right, and will judge every man according to the light which he has had and the works which he has done. As a matter of fact

the possibility of hell is a much more serious thing for a Christian who has lived in the fulness of the dispensation of the Holy Ghost than a man who has never heard the name of Christ, and there are many who have sat in Christian churches and taken the Sacrament of the Lord's Death who might well wish, both here and hereafter, to change places with Socrates and Marcus Aurelius.

The punishment of sin in the world to come, as in this present world, when it is disentangled from external circumstances, is really an ethical question which must be settled so far as it can be settled by our moral reason, and the evidence may be gathered from four quarters. We ought to turn first of all to the principle of punishment and settle in our mind whether it is exhausted in the idea of reformation. Certainly a great and happy change has come over the national mind within the last century as to the best treatment of criminals. At the close of last century the death penalty, the last and most awful act of justice, was inflicted for the theft of a few shillings, or the stealing of a sheep, and public executions were orgies of profanity and brutality; the lash was constantly in use, and prisoners were treated worse than the brutes to whose condition they were being reduced. Amid this coarseness and mercilessness it is significant that people had no difficulty in believing in an endless hell, for indeed law had been making a hell on this side of the grave. With the gradual growth of humanity, as the Georgian period was replaced by the Victorian, criminal punishment came under the influence of nobler ideas, and it was felt that its chief end ought not to be to make a man suffer for his sins, but rather to turn him from his sins, so that when he left prison he might not be more degraded than when he entered, but should rather be established in the habit of well-doing. It will, I think, be found that just as society treats her criminals she believes God will treat His, and

that there has been a certain correspondence between what we consider the right kind of prison here and what we believe God will constitute as a prison hereafter. We may, indeed, assume that punishment can only be perfectly justified when it is arranged not to destroy but to save; and the method is most perfect which either hinders men from sinning, or, if they be overcome by sin, so deals with them that henceforward they desire to live godly and make every effort thereto. And that system of punishment could hardly be counted successful, which succeeded in making a sinner miserable, but had not done anything to deliver him from his sin. We ought, however, to ask ourselves whether we would be satisfied in our reason and conscience were retribution entirely eliminated from the idea of punishment, and whether we do not feel that it has its own just place. Suppose that some ruffians should deliberately and wantonly injure your child, would it be enough in your judgment that he be placed under a course of prison treatment simply that he be lifted in future above such evil deeds? Would not you demand that he be made to suffer, even as he has made that child to suffer; and would you consider yourself revengeful in this demand or inhuman? Would not you consider any system of justice wanting in grit, and less than satisfactory to the conscience, which did not make a wilful sinner smart for the injury which he had done to innocent people, apart altogether from the question whether the smarting was to make him a better man? And the point is, if it be just that a man smart for what he has done in this life, would it be unjust that he smart in the life to come, especially if he escaped punishment in this present world? If there be a proper place for retribution in human justice, is it to be understood that there can be no place in Divine Justice?

Our second field of evidence is derived from the permanence of character. If we have learned to believe that a

man's future is to be determined by character rather than by creed, then the laws of character have a great deal to say with regard to future punishment. And if we have also learned to believe that character creates a man's environment, so that goodness and badness each make its own place, then character may be the builder of hell. A natural recoil from the tyranny of dogma should not carry us the length of denying the facts of life, and a Christian dislike of human suffering should not lead us to ignore the distinction of right and wrong. If we do not know much about life beyond the grave, we know a good deal of life on this side of the grave; and while we may have a sentiment of horror against hell in the next world, we must not shut our eyes to the fact of hell in this world; and if we discover that a man is capable of creating a place of horrible suffering in this life, we may not lay the blame of a place of suffering in the other world to the charge of God. Let us, at least, be real, and face the situation as we see it with our own eyes and without any need of an apocalypse. Here is a man who, through gross evil living and a savage temper, has made his home a veritable Gehenna to his innocent wife and children. He has become an unmitigated curse to them not only in their bodies, but also in their souls. The only relief those miserables had, and the only opportunity of decent living, came when this husband and father was shut up in prison. This is not a singular case, nor is it a case confined to one class in society. When that man dies, it is a fortunate deliverance to his family, so that no one can pretend to regret his death, and many a philanthropic person had wished he had died sooner. What is going to be done with that man where he has gone? It is all very well to say that no person may be tortured, and we do not now believe that God will torture any person; but it is well to remember that that man spent his life torturing helpless people, and it is fair to ask whether he is going to

be allowed to torture some more innocent people on the other side of the grave. He is an ugly fact, and cannot be dissolved in a flood of sentiment. When his wife, after a few years' rest, obtained by his death, passes into the next world, is she to be thrust again into his company, and is he to be allowed to repeat his former performances? Surely the most sickly sentiment will not go that length. She used to have short periods of relief in this poorly governed world, when imperfect human justice kept the ruffian in gaol; is she to be worse off with the perfect justice and supreme moral arrangements of the world to come? If one allow that that man is to be kept apart, so that he does no more mischief, and that no persons suffer hereafter as they have suffered here, then he has granted—more than that, has demanded—the existence of hell. For if that man be separated from well-living people, then he must be placed with evil-living people, and you have arrangement by character—John and Mary and Paul together, Judas and Caiaphas and Nero together. Does any one seriously believe that a confirmed ruffian is going to live in a state, wherever it might be or whatever it might be, which was created to be the home of the Apostle John and the Apostle Paul, to be the home of Francis of Assisi and Thomas à Kempis, to be the home of his little child who had died in innocency, to be the home of all those clean-living people who glorified God in their day and generation, and who, having overcome the last enemy, were now with God? Were they going to launch into that Christian home that ruffian who was a curse to his wife, so that she was congratulated when he died; who was a terror to his children; who was a byword in society for the injury he had done; who had not in him one single ground on which, when they went to bury him, they could respect him? How does that bear on the question of future punishment? That man was somewhere. Was it not most

natural to believe that he was with his friends of the same colour and complexion? Would the wildest sentiment propose to thrust the saint among the sinners, or to intrude the sinners among saints? Would the sinners desire to be in heaven, and would they be happy in heaven? May it not be that one man's heaven is another man's hell? Whether that be so or not, a man's character inevitably settles his place.

It may, of course, be suggested that character will change, and that it does not follow that an evil liver here will be an evil liver there, and that we are entitled to hope that no man's doom is settled by this short period of mortal life. This is not a hope which we desire to cherish about the saint, for we believe that his light will shine more and more to the perfect day, and that as he has begun so he will continue through all the ages; but if we can find any ground for our faith, we are certainly entitled to hope that the character of the sinner will be reversed. We must again, however, not be guided by our friendly wishes, but by our experience of life. There is a time in youth and early manhood when character is still fluid, and can be evidently changed. The power of love, or some high calling, or the influence of a friend, or some startling event, may profoundly affect the attitude of the mind and the trend of the affections and the goal of life. When we are young, we are most open to the appeals of the evangel and the grace of God, to the example of godliness and the lessons of life. Before middle age the character has crystallized and settled into shape, and with every year of temptation unresisted and sins enjoyed the character hardens and becomes impervious. It is possible that a man of fifty may be converted and become as a little child; it is not likely. It is possible that a sinner dying may be so regenerated in the course of an hour that he pass as a saint in thought and character into the heavenly kingdom; it is

a rare case. Our wisdom in estimating life is not to argue from its brilliant exception, but to abide by its rule; and there is no rule of life more patent and more solemn than the fixity of character. Our bodies change in every part, our circumstances dissolve around us, our fellowships are broken and our beliefs depart, but character remains and grows and solidifies and reigns. And when we think of the future in its weal or in its woe, we must reckon with character.

We are also entitled to seek for light on this awful question from the will of God as it is declared in holy Scripture; and there was a day when pious Christians firmly believed that so many of our race would be consigned to hell by the Divine will. For if any one believes that one man is so predestinated unto life that he must attain thereto whatever he thinks, or does, or wills, then it follows that another man is practically predestinated to everlasting death whatever he thinks, or does, or wills. But there are few Christians to-day who could endure the thought that any one whom God has called into being by His providence, and for whom, as one of the world, He gave His Son, is destined without hope of escape to the place of darkness. This matter of the Divine will is not to be settled by a text here and a text there, but by the whole scope of revelation, from the days of the Patriarchs to the days of the Apostles; and the message of the Bible, when it is separated from local circumstances and imagery, is clear and full, and it comes to this, that it is the will of our Heavenly Father that not one of His creatures should perish. For their salvation He gave His beloved Son, He sent the Holy Spirit, He compasses every man with the mercies of providence and with the invitations of grace; so that, if any one is saved, it is by the grace of God; and if any one is lost, it will be in spite of the grace of God. So far as the will of God is concerned, there would be no

hell, but only heaven, just as there would be no sin and only holiness. The will of God has had as much to do with the creation of hell as with the origin of sin. It is a fact in the human constitution that God has given His creature a certain measure of freewill, allowing him a space for himself wherein to breathe and move; it is a fact of our own experience that we have said yes or no to the appeals of the Divine grace. It does not follow, therefore, that if any one suffer eternally this must be by the will of God, nor does it follow that there will be no punishment because the will of God is our salvation. It is the case, and here again no sentiment can blind us to the fact, that in this present life one can resist the grace of God successfully and go on sinning in the very presence of the Cross. When punishment follows upon the sin in this world, we do not charge God with cruelty, we do not consider that this punishment is giving Him any pleasure; we regard it as inevitable, and we blame only the man. Suppose the man resist the will of God in the life to come as he has resisted it in this life, what then? Will not punishment again dog the steps of sin, and can this be laid any more against the love of God in the future than it could be in the present? It is open to believe, and one desires to believe it, that in the long contest between this foolish human will and the wise and gracious will of God the will of man must in the end be conquered, and the will of God prevail, and the end of all evil, of good. Yet there is a shadow on this hope, and it is far from certain, for what influence can be imagined acting upon the soul in the other world which has not been affecting the soul in this world? What weapon of love can God have in reserve if the invitations of Holy Scripture, and the commandments of the Lord, and the Cross of Calvary, and the pleading of the Holy Spirit have all failed and been despised? If we sin against the Father, behold, the Son maketh intercession for

us; and if we refuse the Son, the Spirit maketh intercession within our own hearts, if haply we may yield. If we resist and overcome the Spirit so that He be driven in despair from our hearts, and have no more access unto us, then is there any fourth person in the Godhead to be our Saviour?

There remains the evidence to be gathered from the teaching of our Master and His Apostles, and here again it is surely better to depend not upon single texts, but rather upon the whole trend of thought. Is it not pedantic to spend so much time over the exact meaning of a single Greek word, or over the construction of a sentence? Nor can the matter be settled by the usages of Jewish theology, and the thought of Jesus' day. Our Master was not dependent upon philology when He wished to declare His mind, nor does He show the slightest trace of rabbinical teaching. He was not likely to hide Himself behind the ambiguity of an adjective, nor did it matter to Him what the Rabbis thought. He taught with authority, because He taught with certainty and with lucidity, and throughout His teaching He leaves the profound impression that He regarded the fate of the sinner with nothing less than horror. He compared the sinner's awful estate to the Valley of Hinnom with its foul, thick, unceasing smoke, and its festering, writhing, unspeakable corruption, and He besought men, with tears in His voice, that they should make any sacrifice, to the cutting off of a right hand or the plucking out of a right eye, rather than enter into that fire. He sees the men of evil character depart from the left hand of the Throne with unspeakable sorrow, because they go by their own choice and their own nature into fire prepared for the devil and his angels. There is nothing, He declares, and no one deserving to be feared in this world; there is only one to be feared anywhere, and that is He who can cast the soul into Gehenna. Can any one read

the awestruck references of Jesus to the future of the sinner without trembling and without a new sense of the fearful possibilities of the punishment which is entailed on sin? No teacher was ever so charitable as Jesus; no Shepherd of men was ever so merciful, none has had such a heart of pity; none has made such sacrifices for man's help; none has suffered so much that we might not suffer; none has understood the depth of suffering like Jesus; and it must therefore remain a fact of the last solemnity that the most alarming references to the future of a sinner have fallen from the lips of Jesus.

It is almost a paradox that St. Paul, on whom the Rabbis left their trace, should have a more hopeful outlook than his Master; but there is no question that in various passages St. Paul seems to point to the hope "that in the dispensation of the fulness of time, God might gather together in one all things in Christ, both which are in heaven and which are on earth," and "that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of things in heaven, and things in earth, and things under the earth, and that every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ is Lord unto the glory of God the Father," and that "As in Adam all die even so in Christ shall all be made alive." No doubt an exact exegesis may qualify and reduce the wider scope of such passages, but they allow us to believe that from time to time the great Apostle imagined a victory of Christ which would leave no rebel against his power in the whole universe of God, and no creature of God, reasoning or unreasoning, which would not do Him service. It is the hope we all would cherish, and which would make glad our hearts; it is the consummation we believe God desires and which would be the crown of Christ's passion, the

> One far-off Divine event
> To which the whole creation moves.

No one, however, can believe that St. Paul expected that

such a restoration would ever be accomplished except through the repentance of the sinner and through the grace of God, for none has insisted more strongly on the inseparable connection between sin, and guilt, and punishment, none has explained more clearly that the sinner can only be justified and sanctified in Christ Jesus. If there is to be a complete restoration, it must be in Christ Jesus, and so the old question rises like a ghost from its grave: What of those who of their own accord, and with deliberation, have refused Christ? What of those who by their own choice and will are cast away?

Ought we not to remember that the question of punishment depends upon the question of sin? and are we not entitled to reason from the arrangements of this life to those of the life to come? Does not punishment follow sin as effect follows cause in this world, and is not this punishment a sanction of righteousness and a safeguard for righteous men? Would this world be worth living in, or could human society stand for an hour, if wrongdoing had no penalties, and the man who did ill was treated the same as the man who did well? Is it not our complaint that the judicial machinery of human society is so imperfect that the righteous man does not receive his due recompense, and that the unrighteous man escapes his just punishment? Have we not imagined that state of things where the evildoer would be sharply dealt with for the good of himself and every other person, and the innocent would be protected and blessed? Were we not very indignant a few years ago when the monsters who perpetrated the Armenian atrocities were rewarded instead of being hanged, and when the victims had no escape except the grave? and would it not have more firmly established our faith in Divine providence if by some means the guilty had been punished and the miserable have been delivered? Had it been in one's power to have cast the miscreants who com-

mitted unspeakable outrages into some place of suffering, we had done so with a profound sense of righteousness; and had we been able to remove the unhappy people to a safe and pleasant land, where they would know terror no more, this we had also done with a profound sense of relief. Are we then to suppose that the future life will be no improvement upon the present, but that for ever our moral sense will be insulted with the sight of unpunished wickedness and of wronged innocence? Are we not bound to believe that where there is sin there must and ought to be suffering, and that among the mercies of God by which we are weaned from unrighteousness and held in the way of life everlasting, not the least is the punishment of sin both in this world and in that which is to come?

JOHN WATSON.

CHRIST'S THREE JUDGES.

III.

HEROD.

(LUKE XXIII. 7–11.)

THE appearance of our Lord before Herod was a kind of interlude in the tragic farce of His trial. In all courts the first interest must be the adjusting of the issues, the defining of what exactly is to be tried in order that both witness and pleader may be kept to the point, and that judgment may not in the end be given on anything but the real question in dispute. Now, when Jesus stood before Pilate, the issue was clear. The Romans had no concern with questions of doctrine or worship in Palestine, and their courts, therefore, could try Jesus only on the charge of being disloyal, an enemy to Roman order in the land. This man claims to be a king, and gathers a party—that was the charge; and Pilate had to judge if it were seriously

made. Caiaphas presided in a court, partly civil and partly ecclesiastical, where heresy and blasphemy were crimes, and there Jesus was tried on His relation to Jewish doctrine. He has spoken slightingly of the Temple, He has called Himself the Son of God: these were the accusations. In each case there was an issue; but Herod had nothing to try, for against the conduct of Jesus as a workman and citizen in Galilee, where Herod's power was, no voice was raised. And, what is more, he had no jurisdiction in Jerusalem; even in his own territory his power was jealously limited by the Romans. In a fit of drunken boasting he had sworn to give the daughter of Herodias even the half of his kingdom, but, in fact, he could give nothing away without the consent of his masters. And that was where his power lay; whilst in Jerusalem he was merely a guest, come, like others, to the feast, who had no authority to judge as he had no offence to try. It may have been this lack of responsibility which suffered him to fall so low. Caiaphas saw in Jesus an enemy of all he counted sacred, and his rage gave him seriousness and a touch of dignity. Pilate, though he looked more at policy than at justice, was yet the custodier of Roman peace throughout the province, and that kept him from the lowest depth. But Herod had no quarrel to pursue and no large interest to maintain. He was invited by Pilate to lend him the help of his experience in coming to a decision; and in the invitation he saw nothing more than an opportunity of gratifying a poor curiosity and of making sport at the expense of a suffering man. It is the most undignified and the most indecent chapter of the long, sorrowful story.

Though he had nothing to try, he did, virtually, give a decision on the one point of Christ's claim to be a king. On that, in his own brutal fashion, he pronounced an unmistakable judgment. A king? Yes, of this sort; a king made of rags and cast clothes, a king to be mocked at,

a king who needs no other exposure than the scornful repetition of his own claim : that—a king ! The jest gained wider currency as the hours wore on, as heartless and foolish jests are apt to do ; it was elaborated in Pilate's guard room, where the soldiers enriched it according to their humour, one thrusting a reed for sceptre into the unresisting hand, another crushing the plaited thorns down on the mournful brow, whilst round the room there ran the jeering words of homage : Hail, King of the Jews ! There the jest's prosperity was complete ; but the discredit of its origin seems to lie with Herod, who, because he was himself a shadow king, with dignity so ill secured, was quick to mock at those who grasped at power. That he judged thus of Christ's claim to be a king was his contribution to the work and the wisdom of that day of many sentences.

On the surface this judgment of derision may appear foreign and even monstrous ; but the reason which accounted for it and the essential fact of it have never been unknown, and thus its admonition is for all time. The motives of a man's judgment of Christ are always complex ; but, certainly, one reason for Herod's public derision of the Nazarene lay in his previous interest and curiosity. There was no lack of wonderworkers in Palestine in that age : when Jesus was accused of casting devils out by the help of Beelzebub, He answered, "By whom do your sons cast them out?" For there were many who claimed, and many who seemed to possess such power ; and the very men who made the evil charge against Jesus were ready to boast of the supernatural gift of their own kinsmen. Superstition is the ghost of religion, which lives and has power when religion is gone. And Herod, as a child of his age, was tempted by the thought of a man who could command the spirits of life and death and disease, who, standing before him in unsupported weakness, could make him conscious

of movements of influence from a world of unknown power. To the jaded sense of a master in cunning and a slave of passion there was seduction in the very promise of it, and Herod's one desire of Jesus was to have his pulses quickened by a sense of wonder, to get something by which to mark a day in the long monotony of tedious hours and days and years. He had no thought of learning from Jesus, or of becoming another man under His constraint; he only wished, whilst remaining the same man, to have one exciting day. That is to say, he wished to sit apart from Jesus, and look at Him as a spectacle—to be interested, excited, perhaps disappointed, if the man did not justify His reputation. But that was all; and when Jesus refused to indulge him, he took a characteristic revenge. A man who dared to deny the king amusement in one form should give it in another; so Jesus was draped in some rejected royal finery, led about the hall to the huge entertainment of the king, and then sent away. Herod was prepared to go so far in belief: if Jesus had made a dumb man speak, that would have pleased the king; if, like Moses, He had turned a rod into a serpent, that might have won applause; if the hall had grown dim, and voices of dead men been heard, and ghostly figures had chilled the king in their passage, he might have turned pale, but the charm of the unaccustomed would have held him. He was prepared, as a spectator, to welcome any marvel Jesus did; but when Jesus gave no sign and spoke no word, He was sent away in contempt. A king? why, He is not even master of His poor conjuring trade! I gave Him every chance, and He did nothing and said nothing, so I dismissed Him in contempt. Herod asked one thing of Christ, and when he was denied that, he derided Christ's claim to be something else, of which he had made no trial. And in that he is by no means alone. For there are many who find nothing in Christ because He does not satisfy their curiosity. They

sit apart like Herod, willing to see what Jesus has to show them; they know Him by reputation, they have heard of His power in human life, and, as observers, they are interested. But, from first to last, there appears in them nothing but the superiority of a spectator and a patron, willing to give his countenance to one who has deserved it. And after a while they turn away and give their report on the whole Christian claim. I went with an open mind wishing to see, and I did not see any of those startling resurrections in character of which men told me, and I did not experience in myself anything of the arresting and transforming power of which I had heard. And henceforth a man feels free to pronounce authoritatively on the nullity, or, at least, on the narrow limitation, of the influence of Jesus Christ. It does not seem to strike such men that, perhaps, Christ is greater than they, that He will not come at their call and play before them the part they wish; for He does not ask for their approval or their countenance, but for their submission. The mere spectator in religion will never travel far. Christ has reason enough to give, He can justify Himself at any serious tribunal; but there are times for silence as for speech, and many plausible and inquisitive minds are met by Christ, as Herod was, with a majestic silence. These things are hid from the wise and prudent. Not for the man who wonders how Christ could really make out His immense claim are the lips opened which spake as never man spake; it is not for him who sits apart as a spectator that Christ works His mighty works. He may do what he will, he may sneer at the faith of Jesus as outworn, but Jesus will answer him nothing. His silence will be as fixed as His word is prompt and gracious and convincing to the man who submits and who prays. There is no hopeful way of approaching Christ but that of faith; to the mere spectator nothing of His power is disclosed. And he who starts with Herod in patronizing

curiosity is likely to end with him in a groundless rejection and contempt of Christ the King.

And the essential form of this judgment of derision is familiar. It consisted at first, and it still consists, in investing Jesus with some emblem of authority, whilst the authority itself is denied. He once complained of men who called Him Lord, and who gave Him no obedience. They fancied that they honoured Him by the title, but He took it from them as an added wrong. The king's robe of scarlet is worth wearing only if it carries power with it; but many have nothing to give to Christ but the robe. They call Him Master and Lord, but they do not shape their lives according to His will; they honour Him in prayer, but they do not use in life the helps that come by prayer; they bring their children to Him in baptism, as if His blessing were first of all things in their life, and then, by example and maxim, they show how religion may be postponed to work, or pleasure, or society, as if nothing were less important. A man may have the utmost reverence in his imagination for Christ, he may sympathize with all that poet or rhetorician can imagine for the exalting of the praise of Jesus; but if he is without obedience, his praises are like the gorgeous robe. Whenever we recognise Christ in form and deny Him in substance, when we give Him what it suits us to allow, and refuse Him all He really desires, the old derision is renewed. And Jesus Christ is led to-day about the streets of Christian cities in this unchanging masquerade: Hail, King! men cry to Him, keeping in their hearts the purpose of doing as they will with their lives. And He who searches the heart marks the gap between their word and their will.

Nothing should strike one more in this story than the gravity for men themselves of this judgment of derision, when they refuse to take Christ's authority in earnest. There is no deeper or nobler instinct in man than that of deference;

our knees were made to bend. In this distracted world men are always conscious of their need of guidance; their wavering wills, their unsure judgments, their limited knowledge, all ask for support. And the welcomest sight for men who know themselves is the advent of a really strong man on whom his fellows may lean. How deep the need is of some one to obey we see in the homage offered to mere simulacra of kingship. Think of Sir Walter Scott, intoxicated with loyal enthusiasm at the coming of George IV. to Edinburgh; think of the devotion, the poetry, the magnificent affection lavished on Charles Edward by the Highland clans! In such records there is a kind of inverted nobility; they show, at least, how necessary it is for men to honour and obey some one, and how spontaneous and profound is the affection which loyalty can evoke. If only the right man were found! if there were some one into whose hands men could commit themselves for guidance without absurdity!

And such a man did come, a King of God's own making, with wisdom, generosity, power sufficient to rule the unsteady hearts of men. Of Him it had been said in prophecy, "The government shall be upon His shoulder; of the increase of His government and of peace there shall be no end." And when He came to fulfil His mission in the world, He was received with ribald laughter; for, to the mass of men, it seemed the height of absurdity that He should be called a king. A king without an army and without a court, with no weapon save truth and gentleness—a king who took it as an honour to suffer for the least of His subjects—that they could not understand. So they mocked His claims away, and their lives remained unruled. "But to as many as received Him, He gave power to become sons of God"; for that is the fruit of His authority, and that is what is missed by those who will not have Him for their king. The works of Christ are known in

those who admit His power—a new steadiness of aim, a noble superiority to slights, cheerful contentment in adversity, tenderness and patience towards the weak; they become sons of God. Much wrong is done to the name of Christ by the disobedience of His professed subjects, who will not suffer Him to work His will in them, and in whom no ray of His brightness can be seen. But none the less is He the Lord of human hearts, in whom life comes to fulness. And those who will not yield obedience judge not Him but themselves; they sentence themselves to exclusion from what is best in life to a course of lower aims, and poorer hopes, and more inglorious service. For Christ, the King of men, guides those who submit to Him along the road He took Himself. "If any man serve Me, let him follow Me," said Jesus, "and where I am, there shall My servant be"; that is to say, in all places where the world is being redeemed, where light is struggling with darkness, where God's will is done, there shall My servant be. That is Christ's promise, and each man must judge whether there is attraction in it for his heart.

But what meaning had the derision for Christ Himself? At first sight the scene may compel in us a sense of the irony of fortune. Throughout His life Jesus had aimed at authority over men; for this He was born, and this was intended in all that He did. And, at length, He was crowned as king; but He was enthroned in mockery, with a reed for sceptre; the royal mantle was an insult, the crown a brutality. At the Supper He was already weary, and to Judas He had said, "What thou doest, do quickly," for He was eager to reach the end of His pain. And since then had come the agony in the Garden, and this long travesty of justice which had lasted right through the night. It was a pitiful and broken figure on which Herod looked, with the royal cloak deriding the trouble of the face. Looking simply at that hour we can hardly miss the sug-

gestion of irony; this was the turn given by the world to all His hope and labour. He had asked bread, and men gave Him a stone; He had sought to be king for their good, and they answered with the thorns. The seeming irony of fortune has so large a place in human life that this example of it is, at least, worth noting. Men often labour, and plan, and pray for what is good, and when an answer comes against their heart's desire, they feel aggrieved by the wantonness of God. Such men need to learn the help of Christ's companionship, and to wait with Him for the end which lies beyond. For Jesus Himself was not troubled by the seeming wrong; His report on every stage of His suffering would be, "Weep not for Me, but weep for yourselves and for your children." He endured through one hour and then another, sustained by the sight of what was to come; He grasped the sceptre of reed knowing that that express symbol of frailty would break the sword of every champion of wrong. Even in the hour of it the derision missed its mark, for by faith Jesus was beyond it.

And whatever may be said of the actual moment of the derision, only one judgment is possible of its final effect. For it served to force Him on to His eternal kingship and captaincy among men. It was intended to mark His quality as a man exposed in making ridiculous claims; in throwing the gorgeous robe about Him, they said with emphasis that there was nothing kingly in Him. Yet by their rejection they made Him King. For one thing they gave Him opportunity to show Himself. He hung on the cross undefeated, and there received men's honour as a king does on his throne. The dying thief, the centurion—any soul of nobility and insight—felt that it was not preposterous, but supremely credible, that He was king. It is in the day of disaster that the true king is discovered, and thus the men who flouted Christ helped Him to His place. And more than that, by their rejection of Him they riveted

His hold on human hearts. For the things which He bore for us become to us the symbols of His authority. By the sorrows He endured for men He commands their joyous and unquestioning obedience. It is an unforgettable note in the Gospels that in His resurrection body the marks of the wounds remained; and still, when men limit or waver in their obedience, they need to return to look at the print of the nails. I wonder if the marks of the thorns will still be in the face we shall see one day; His crown then will be not of gold and jewels, His splendours not to dazzle the eye. His wounds are His royal splendours, the marks and the reminders of the pain He bore for us. By these it is that He commands men still, and of the increase of *that* government there shall be no end.

So the malice of men defeats itself, and He is lifted to the throne by hands which sought to wound Him. Caiaphas and Pilate and Herod combine to make Him King; in their several ways they judged Him, and each contributed something to raise Him higher. Derided because He said He was a king, abused because He called Himself the Son of God, condemned because even the majesty of Rome did not dare to set Him free. How high He is lifted above the measures of common men! Passus quia Ipse voluit—He suffered because He willed to suffer; He was delivered by the determinate counsel and foreknowledge of God. And each judge in turn must take his place in the pageant of the triumph of Christ.

When a man rejects Him, he does not degrade nor diminish the authority of Christ, he gives Him another chance of showing His power over hearts. The unbroken will, the lordly pride, shall one day do Him homage, for to Him every knee shall bow. But such extorted service—a service, like Herod's, against the purpose of his heart—is unworthy of a man. Has he not a mind to own the noblest when he sees it? Jesus Christ took it both as a grace of

God to Himself, and as a crown, that He was permitted to taste death for men. Are there not grace and honour both in serving such a Master? "To Him who loves us and loosed us from our sins in His own blood, and hath made us kings and priests unto God, to Him be glory and dominion for ever and ever!" Thus by the power of His heart Christ holds upon His way from where His royalty is derided to where it is rejoiced in with singing.

W. M. Macgregor.

LINES OF DEFENCE OF THE BIBLICAL REVELATION.

IV. The Argument from Silence.

The argument from silence represents the following series of syllogisms. Had B existed in the time of an author A, A must have known of B. Had A known of B, he must have mentioned or cited B. But A neither mentions nor cites B. Therefore B did not exist in A's time.

It is clear that this argument involves two assumptions which are not always capable of demonstration. Human action is characterized by fitfulness, whence it is not absolutely certain that a man will perform an act which he may be well expected to perform. Hence, while knowing of B, he may for some unknown reason fail to mention B. Or, though the chance of his having failed to hear of B may be exceedingly small, it is often difficult to deny the admissibility of such a chance.

The most powerful argument from silence known to me is that urged against the genuineness of the document called the Cairene Ecclesiasticus, a copy of Ecclesiasticus in Hebrew of the eleventh century. Rashi, who lived in the eleventh century, and whose work on the Talmud embodies the whole of the Jewish learning of the time,

expressly excludes Ecclesiasticus from the category of "written books"; there seems, therefore, no chance that the Hebrew could have been preserved among the Jews and Rashi never have heard of it. In the same century dictionaries were written of both Biblical and post-Biblical Hebrew; and the lexicographers, who did their utmost to illustrate their vocabularies from the sources at their disposal, take no notice of the supposed original of Ben-Sira. In the tenth century a Mohammedan of Baghdad got a learned Christian and a learned Jew to give him lists of their literature for his bibliography; and Ecclesiasticus figures in the Christian list of books translated into Arabic, but not in the Jewish list. If, then, there be an argument from silence, we have here a case of one. A sufficient number of persons are involved to eliminate the element of personal caprice; some of them must have known of the book had it existed; and most of them would have had an interest in citing it. Since they do not cite it, we may justly infer that the book did not exist.

The argument from silence that is used to discredit Daniel is of a very different order. Ben-Sira, writing about 200 B.C., enumerates the famous men of the chosen line. In this list the name of Daniel does not appear. Had Daniel formed part of Ben-Sira's canon, the latter must have known of the work; and had he known of it, he must have mentioned Daniel among the famous men of Israel. This is how the argument runs. But the last premiss is false, since he does not mention Ezra, although he mentions Nehemiah (xlix. 13). And the destruction of one link destroys the whole chain.

But let us question this witness rather more closely. Of Ezekiel, before or after whom Daniel would naturally be mentioned, he says (xlix. 9), "He also mentioned the enemies in rain, and set right those who walk straight."

The Hebrew for "enemies" is scarcely distinguishable from the name *Job*, and our second source for Ben-Sira's verses, the old Syriac translation, here gives *Job* for "enemies." It seems marvellous that any one seeing this should doubt that the Syriac version was made from the original, and here preserved a valuable trace of it; but to German commentators this sort of argument apparently "does not appeal." No one now is likely to doubt that the Hebrew meant "Ezekiel also made mention of Job"; and by the aid of the instruments which we ordinarily employ for the restoration of Ecclesiasticus we elicit verses giving the following sense: "He also mentioned Job, by a hint, and declared happy those who walk straight."[1] Ezekiel mentions Job in chapter xiv. (verses 14 and 20) as one of a trio of perfect men—Noah, *Daniel*, and Job. Ben-Sira is struck by his mention of *Job*, and infers something from it.

But if he was surprised by the mention of Job in this list, he evidently *was not surprised by the mention of Daniel.*[2] And what surprised him about the mention of Job was the fact of one who was not of the chosen line being given a place in such a trio. Hence he must have been aware that Daniel was an Israelite. Now whatever may have been the case with Ezekiel, it is very certain that the only Israelitish Daniel known to Ben-Sira who could be mentioned in a trio of perfect men must have been the Daniel known to us. Ben-Sira shows no sign whatever of acquaintance with pre-exilic history going beyond our own. But if it seemed to Ben-Sira quite in order that Daniel should be mentioned

[1] גַּם הִזכִּיר אֶת־אִיּוֹב בְּרֶמֶז
וְאֹשֶׁר אֶת־מַיְשִׁירֵי דָּרֶךְ

ברמז is an emendation for בזרם. If the latter word be rendered "among strangers," the argument will not be seriously affected; and indeed the word "Job" is all it requires. For רמז, cf. B. *Nedarim*, 39*b*.

[2] The Author of *Chobath ha-Lebaboth* (11th century: Warsaw, 1875, ii. 158) is struck by the mention of Job here.

in such a way, he must have had our book of Daniel in his canon.

And now let us examine Ben-Sira's inference. A clue to its import is given in a note appended by the LXX. translator to the Book of Job.[1] "And it is written that he, Job, shall rise up again with those whom the Lord raises." From this mention of Job then Ben-Sira infers that those who do good, irrespective of their nationality, shall have a share in the future world. Truly it is interesting to find this question discussed so early as Ben-Sira's time. Rabbi Seadyah in his religious philosophy, and a later Rabbi in his unpublished eschatology,[2] both incline to the view that the future life is for Israel only. Ben-Sira took the more liberal view, and assigned a share in it to all who walk straight, and this he inferred from the mention of Job in Ezekiel's list.

But how does the mention of Job by the side of Noah and Daniel prove this? The method of reasoning is an exceedingly familiar one in the Talmud, and resembles the "identical category."[3] In a list of terms whatever applies to one applies to all. If, therefore, in the list Noah, Daniel, Job, we can find that *one* will be raised to life we are justified in inferring that all will enjoy the same privilege.

That one is Daniel, who is promised the future life in the last verse of the book that bears his name.[4] "Thou shalt rest, and stand in thy lot at the end of the days." No one could be promised resurrection more distinctly than thus. Since Job is mentioned side by side with Daniel, he too will have a share in the future life. Since he has it in

[1] Compare also Justin, *Dialogue*, § 45, where the same passage of Ezekiel (with the proper names seriously corrupted) is utilized by the Jew for the same purpose.

[2] *Megillath ha-megalleh* (Bodleian MS.).

[3] *Gezerah Shawah.*

[4] The verse is used for this same purpose in B. *Sanhedrin*, 92*a*.

virtue of his good conduct, therefore the same will apply to others, be they Israelites or not. A "beatitude" then as early as this means a promise of the future life.

If we examine the argument thus far, it will be seen that the provision made against doubts concerning the Divine revelation is worthy of attention. Had Ben-Sira's grandson translated the word *Job* correctly, it might have been condemned as an interpolation; the fact that he rendered it wrongly proves its genuineness beyond any question. Had Ben-Sira referred to an early chapter of Daniel, we should have been told that no argument could be drawn therefrom for the authenticity of the latter half; as it is, Ben-Sira refers to the *last verse*, a verse which implies all that has preceded. Had the LXX. translator of Job not gone out of his way to account for the introduction of Job into the canon, we should not have been able to evolve Ben-Sira's argument with certainty; that little supplement guides us with precision.

But if Daniel formed part of Ben-Sira's canon, he ought to borrow phrases from Daniel as he borrows them from other parts of the Bible. And so he does. In xxxvi. 7 he asks the question, "Why, when the light of all the days of the year is from the sun, is one day superior to another?" And he answers, "By the sentence of God they were separated, and *He changed times and feasts.*"[1] Here, as so often, the error of the Greek translator enables us to restore the original with certainty: he should have rendered the words, "He changed times and seasons."[2] These words are a quotation of Daniel ii. 21, "He changeth the times and seasons";[3] and, indeed, it may be doubted whether Ben-Sira would have assigned this act to God without some

[1] וְשִׁנָּה עִתִּים וּמוֹעֲדִים.

[2] ἑορτή = מוֹעֵד. The Syriac has this right.

[3] LXX. and Th. ἀλλοιοῖ καιροὺς καὶ χρόνους. Compare also Daniel xii. 7 with vii. 25, showing that מועד = עדן.

warrant from Holy writ, such as this text of Daniel gives. In the same chapter of Daniel (ii. 9) occurs the similar phrase "until the time be changed";[1] the meaning is not very clear: the wise men are charged by Nebuchadnezzar with having conspired to put the king off with some fabrication until the time changed, probably meaning "until some fresh interest diverted the king's attention." The phrase is in any case identical with that used by Ben-Sira xviii. 25, "from morning to evening *time changes*,"[2] which seems to signify "the weather changes." He supposed then that the king used the phrase metaphorically of his own state of mind, as might be done colloquially in our own language.[3]

Is this sufficient to prove Daniel genuine? Probably not, but it is quite sufficient to wreck the theories that are at present dominant. Those theories require Daniel to be Maccabean; and it has now been shown that a pre-Maccabean writer bases a theological argument on the *last* verse of Daniel, and borrows phrases from the earlier part of the book. Hence the attack on Daniel has been for the moment repulsed, and any hypothesis which regards it as spurious will be confronted with the fact that Ben-Sira identified the Daniel mentioned by Ezekiel with the Daniel of the book that bears his name.

Let us now try to use the argument from silence on our own account. In the Biblical revelation an important place is occupied by the *Psalms*. The Arabs use for a collection of poems the term *divan*, and it is so useful that we shall borrow it. Divans are of several sorts. Sometimes the poetry of a tribe is collected into a divan; such a book contains the works of all the poets whom the tribe

[1] See also vii. 25.

[2] מִבֹּקֶר עַד עֶרֶב שִׁנּוֹ עֵת. The Syriac משנא is intransitive.

[3] The phrase "He that liveth for ever," as a name for God (Ecclus. xviii. 1) also comes from Daniel xii. 7. The metre requires the form חֵי עוֹלָם.

produced. Only one such seems to have been handed down to us; but we can trace the existence of others, and in one case can almost name the year in which it perished.[1] More often the divan contains the works of a single poet; and where the same author wrote on a variety of subjects, his verses on each subject constitute a separate divan. There are also cases in which the poetry produced by the members of one family is put together. In such a case the work of one gifted member is likely to occupy a prominent position in the divan, whereas the others only follow in his train. What sort of divan is represented by the Psalter?

It is clear that the divan before us exhibits selection. It does not contain all David's poems; for out of four which his biography preserves, the Psalter contains only one. Since three of these poems are dirges, we infer that the dirge, a most important style, is not admitted. Thence we may infer that the Psalter is confined to one style, the religious ode, or hymn, for the absence of the dirge gives us an *a fortiori* argument. If songs of that solemn and semi-religious character are not admitted, still less can the encomium find a place. As for the epithalamium, it would seem to have no place in the Semitic divan. It would probably be regarded as a personal insult.[2]

Secondly, the divan must be exclusive not only *quâ* subjects, but also *quâ* authors. Hezekiah's thanksgiving after recovery resembles many of the Psalms in style. Since it is excluded, we infer that the productions of remote descendants of David are excluded. The Psalm of Habakkuk exhibits the technique of the Psalms. It is not admitted into the Psalter; we infer that the hymns of the prophets are not admitted. Jonah's psalm is a cento from the existing Psalter; therefore, the Psalter was complete before it

[1] *Letters* of Abu 'l-Ala, p. xiii. note 4.

[2] In *Aghani*, ix. 33, there is an allusion to a poem of the sort.

was composed. If Jonah be historical, this will be before the fall of Nineveh.

The relation of the hymns of Hezekiah and Habakkuk to the Psalter is indeed of a sort which gives occasion for reflection. It is clear that both of them are modelled on the Psalms, so closely modelled that the room left for the author's originality is in parts exceedingly small. This fact is not of itself surprising. In the Arabic divans the subjects introduced, their order in a poem, as well as great numbers of similes and expressions, are "tralaticious," borrowed by one generation from another, in so long a series that it is now impossible to name or locate their originator with approximate correctness. Hence the employment by these authors of whole verses already found in the Psalter is not unintelligible. But whereas the verse which is numbered 34 in Psalm xviii. is exceedingly suitable in the mouth of a "man of war from his youth," in that of a seer its appropriateness is far more doubtful. We should be inclined to explain it in the latter case as we explain the verses in which the Arabic poets of the Abbasid period describe their journeys through the desert, their feats of prowess, their loves and the ruins of the dwellings of their friends—as matter which the laws of the art required to be introduced in a poem, although there was no longer any reality to which any part of it corresponded. In the case of Hezekiah's hymn there is the same peculiarity as in Jonah's, viz., a tendency to apply to actual personal experiences words which in the Psalms seem used rather more vaguely and metaphorically. And there seems in both cases a considerable likelihood that the technical terms of the music of the Psalter are misunderstood by the authors. Hezekiah's hymn is called *Miktab*, "a letter." It at once suggests itself that this word is intended to be the same as the *Miktam* of the Psalms, and indeed bears to it the same relation as Spenser's *Eglogue* bears to the Vergilian *Eclogue*. In the

latter case it was not apparent what an *Eclogue* had to do with pastoral affairs; a very slight alteration made it quite clear. Similarly the word *Miktam* is decidedly a puzzle; by a very slight alteration a thoroughly familiar word is produced. The words with which Habakkuk's hymn closes seem to bear a similar relation to the title, "By Menasseach," of so many of the Psalms. One who read these hymns and, without prejudice, compared them with the Psalter, would probably conclude that they were not incorporated with the latter, on the same ground which would forbid our incorporating any other late imitation with its model. But the assumption of the spuriousness of all these hymns is somewhat complicated, and, in the case of the hymn of Habakkuk, clearly improbable.

Let us now see whether we can discover any means of dating the Psalter. Since the Psalms sometimes recount at length and frequently make allusions to the national history, they will probably mention (1) all events of primary importance down to their arrangement in the form of a divan; (2) all the prominent individuals who took part in forming the national history down to that time, these persons being considered special objects of the Divine favour.

This canon is based on the analogy of similar works in other languages,[1] and especially on the Praise of the Fathers by Ben-Sira. He brings the history down to its last name —Simon son of Onias, whom he had known as a child. The name of Nehemiah is to him of supreme importance, and also that of Zerubbabel. "How," he asks, "can we adequately praise Zerubbabel? He was like a seal-ring on the right hand."[2] Then of the Jewish kings he selects those for mention who did right in the sight of the Lord. Besides

[1] *E.g.* Horace, Ode i. 12.

[2] xlix. 11: אֵיכָה נְגַדֵּל זְרֻבָּבֶל
וְהוּא כְּחוֹתָם עַל יַד יָמִין

these he mentions the great prophets, including those of the northern kingdom.

He does not mention Joseph where he would naturally come, because with the captivity of Ephraim, which was not followed by a return, Joseph *drops out of the chosen line*. Since we are justified in regarding Ben-Sira as an adequate exponent of the theories current between the return and the time of the Maccabees, stress may be laid on this point. The disappearance of Joseph from the list of patriarchs is characteristic of the time of the return; during the divided kingdom he was doubtless the patriarch of the northern nation, while during the united kingdom he was the patriarch of the larger and more important part of it.

Of the events which followed the Exodus, the most notable was the establishment of the monarchy; after that the division of the nation. Hence the number of considerations whereby we can date the Psalter is not small.

Who is the last person mentioned in the Psalms? Except David (the notices of whom shall be considered presently), the last is Samuel (xcix. 6). With him the catalogue of saints stops. This is precisely what we should expect if David were the author of the divan. Samuel was to him as Simon son of Onias to Ben-Sira. The difference in their ages was sufficient to give Samuel in David's eyes the rank of an ancient saint.

The name *Joseph* is used as the equivalent of Israel (Ps. lxxxi. 6, lxxx. 2). He is preferred to Judah as the chief patriarch after Jacob (lxxvii. 16). It is only where the fact of the royalty being in Judah has stress laid on it, that Joseph is made less than Jacob, and even the verse in which this occurs points to a united kingdom (lxxviii. 67). To the splitting of the nation there appears to be no allusion. Jerusalem still "a city is securely built together; thither the tribes of God go up, the tribes, they go up thither"

(cxxii. 4). They ceased to go up in the days of Jeroboam, and this decentralization of Jerusalem was commemorated by a fast in the ancient calendar of the synagogue. Ephraim, Benjamin and Manasseh are mentioned together as equally integral parts of the nation (lxxx. 3). Ephraim is God's pillow, and Judah His staff (cviii. 9). Other tribes are mentioned in the archaic Psalm lxviii. (28). Psalm lxxviii. brings the history down to the choice of David. Psalm cvi. leaps from the judges to the Exile. Psalm cv. stops with the entry into Canaan. Psalm lxxxix. stops with David. Psalm cxxxvi. becomes vague after the conquest of Canaan. Thus the assignation of the bulk of the Psalter to any late period is confronted with the argument from silence. The Psalmists who versify the sacred history must have known of the glories of the Salomonic era and of the splitting of the nation, if they lived after the close of the monarchical period; why then do they become vague after the accession of David, or earlier? If they belong to the period of the divided kingdom, why do we find no trace of the hostility which ordinarily prevailed between the two divisions of Israel, and no aspirations after re-union? Why are Ephraim and Manasseh given an honourable place beside Judah and Benjamin? The later we place the collection the stronger does the argument from silence become. For Ben-Sira's Praise of the Fathers must be our norm for the sense of the concept "sacred history" in the time between the Return and the Maccabees. And we find that with him the names of Nehemiah and Zerubbabel are as honourable as that of Samuel.

Of the theory of the prophets that the miracle of the restoration would outshine the miracle of the Exodus we find no trace. The Exodus is the great marvel which the Psalms seem never wearied of recounting. The "turning of the captivity of Sion," on the other hand, is an event still in the uncertain future (Ps. cxxvi. 4, liii. 7, lxxix. 11,

cvi. 47). Into details concerning the Captivity no Psalm save cxxxvii. enters; but even there the scene is a wholly ideal one. All that we can gather is that the Psalm was composed before the fall of Babylon. For after its fall there would be no occasion for the curse with which it closes.

If the general spirit of the Psalms be considered, it is assuredly that of a fighting community—one in which the hero has the praises of God on his tongue, and a two-edged sword in his hand. The forces of nature are regarded as the warrior's allies; for since his cause is identical with God's, he may reasonably expect that God's weapons, the thunder and hail, will be enlisted on his side. Sanskrit scholars have called attention to the same phenomenon in the Vedas; the primeval ancestors of the mild Hindu could fight as well as sing. The spirit of the Psalms is in this respect similar to that of the Vedas. If it be true that in the Chronicles David, the king and hero, has become a "book-bosomed priest," in the Psalms he by no means appears in that light. The devoutness of the Psalmists does not interfere with their power of striking hard blows. The spirit of Psalm xviii., in which the singer declares that God teaches him to fight, and makes him strong and agile, is also that of Psalm cxliv. The martial instinct is exceedingly strong in Psalms lx. and cx.

Psalm cxliv. is of interest because the author tells us about himself. "God, who gives salvation to kings, teaches his hands to war and his fingers to fight, subdues his people under him, and saves His servant David from the evil sword." It is evident that either David himself is speaking, or that some one else has put the words into David's mouth. If the former is the case, his mentioning his own name may be paralleled from the lyrics of many nations. Imru'ul-Kais, our oldest Arabic poet, in his famous Mu'allakah makes a woman call him by his name.

Horace hopes that a future bride will remember how she sung the verses of the bard Horace. Sa'di in his *Bustan* mentions his own name very frequently. On the other hand, one who chose to personate David would have no difficulty in putting his name in a line. Only what is there in the Psalm that suggests such personation?

In Psalm lxxxix. the author, assuming the character of David, narrates a vision that had been vouchsafed him, and complains that it has not altogether been corroborated by the event. He styles himself the Lord's Anointed (*v.* 39), and declares that he carries in his bosom the whole of many nations—a phrase something like *l'état, c'est moi.* Some of the verses might indeed be said in the name of Israel generally (39–44); but the author has done his best to render this interpretation impossible, by pleading in verses 48 and 49 that, *his life being of limited duration*,[1] the fulfilment of God's promise would presently be despaired of. If David be personated, the transition from the real David to the figurative is almost unintelligible. If, on the other hand, David himself be speaking, then the gloomy tone of the ode seems the natural counterpart of the cheerful tone of others. To those who study human nature the statements in verses 39–47 offer no difficulty. The lake which seems clear and calm at a distance is all ruffled when seen close by. Newspapers that are famed for common sense have repeatedly within the last ten years declared that the glory of England is departed. Even a slight reverse or disappointment plunges the most confident in gloom. Hence from odes of this sort it is difficult to obtain historical details. We cannot reproduce in thought the state of mind of the composer.

Psalm cxxxii. repeats part of the same matter as that contained in Psalm lxxxix., but finds no contradiction between promise and fulfilment. A particular act of de-

[1] Cf. Ecclus. xxxvii. 25.

voutness on the part of David is urged as meritorious, somewhat as Nehemiah (v. 19, etc.) urges his merits. Verse 10: "For the sake of David Thy servant refuse not the request of thine Anointed" would certainly seem to imply that the Anointed and David are not the same; but the service mentioned, that of "finding a place for the Lord," would seem to have been superseded by the building of the Temple in the next reign, and it is probable that fewer difficulties attend the assumption of Davidic authorship than any other.

The fact that these Psalms, wherein the name of David occurs, are not placed near the beginning of the collection, but distributed about it, implies that the collector interpreted the "I" of the Psalms as David. Had he cherished any doubts on that subject, surely any Psalm of which the Davidic origin was ostensible would have been put near the beginning, In some other Psalms the phrase "the king" or "king" is used without any further specification (xxi. 2, 8, lxiii. 12, lxi. 7, lxxii. 1). In some of these the phrase is clearly identical with the personal pronoun "I," and the wish which the Psalm contains is of a sort that could only apply to an individual. These Psalms strike chords which more or less pervade the Psalter, and form the substance of Psalms which contain no reference to David or to a king.

Of personal matters mentioned in the Psalms perhaps the most curious is that the Psalmist *cannot write*. This is asserted in lxxii. 15, "My mouth shall recount Thy righteousness, all day long Thy salvation, for I know not how to write." The phrase there employed is clearly identical with that used by Isaiah xxix. 12, where the context renders the sense certain. In Psalm cxix. 13, "With my lips have I recounted all the judgments of my mouth," the point seems to be the same. And in xlv. 2, "My tongue is the pen of a skilful scribe," the same is implied. The use of writing is still connected with the idea of rendering some-

thing permanent. Constant repetition is with the Psalmist a substitute for it.

Elsewhere the detail is less clear. We have notices of persecution undergone, of fierce battles, of calumny, of treachery and deceit, of disease and recovery, of variations between triumph and despair, confidence and doubt. The author is a fierce enemy, and a zealous worshipper and patriot. His cause is to him absolutely identical with that of God.

Is this series of meditations consonant with the character exhibited by the David of the books of Samuel? Let us try to find another example of a man who at different periods of his life was outlaw and prince, warrior and saint, sinner and penitent, who committed his devotions to verse. Such a character may be found in the author of a volume of as yet unpublished verse[1]—the Zaidite prince Abdallah Ibn Hamzah. Like David this personage founded a dynasty, identified his own cause with that of religion and patriotism, and cherished ambitions which went beyond anything he was himself permitted to realize.[2] When the Caliphate of Baghdad was nearing its close, Abdallah Ibn Hamzah, who was descended from the Alid branch of the Prophet's house, bethought him of raising the Alid banner in South Arabia. It would seem that his first efforts were due to real oppression of the Arabs by the Ghuzz and other "barbarians," whom it is perhaps surprising to find so far south as this poet's home. Against them he defended a fort or two with success; thence he began to be regarded as a champion who might be summoned to lead in cases of emergency. In the field he was frequently successful; but the allegiance sworn to him was repeatedly violated, and he was often driven from home and property. The poems in which he gives vent to

[1] Bodleian MS. (Arab. e. 6).

[2] The life of him by Safadi is also unpublished.

his feelings cover a period of over sixty years; and during that time he underwent a number of experiences similar to those which David in his day had to endure. Of the eight books of which his divan consists one contains moral reflections which in their tone bear some resemblance to the homiletic Psalms. In those which are more immediately devoted to recounting his own history there are not a few notes which remind the reader of other parts of the Psalter. He fancies God has secret favours towards him, enabling him to see his desire on his enemies. God, he thinks, has commanded him to cleanse the countries from pollution, and wash the soil clean of all evildoers. God bade him do this, and he will command his sons after him to continue the work.

What Jerusalem is to the author of the Psalms such is San'a to Abdallah Ibn Hamzah. "Thou, O San'a, art my greatest care, and Dhamar, when it is mentioned, is my chief desire." The barbarous tribes play with him the rôle of the enemies whom the author of the Psalms promises to circumcise (cxviii. 10). He stood in the breach, what time the lions were grinning round him with their terrible teeth. The sword and spear, the shield and buckler, have for him the same attraction as they had for the old hero. The mail that sparkles like a pond, while elastic as a serpent, and the spear-points that flash like lightning from a cloud, are the objects of his affection. What troubles his mind is not such a disaster as the rout of his army, but the wonder how a nation could be so backsliding and perverse as to betray him after they had invoked his championship. What excuse will they be able to allege when on the day of judgment God confronts them with him? The complaints which appear in several of the poems of being *satirized* and lampooned throw a curious light on such passages as Psalm xxxv. 16. The lampoon was, in Arabian antiquity, a weapon which was not

always distinguished with sufficient precision from material weapons, and which was thought to have a very deadly effect.

The divan of Abdallah Ibn Hamzah is very far removed from the excellence of the Psalter, but its author believed in himself sufficiently to write repeatedly to the Caliph at Baghdad, demanding abdication in his favour, and to aspire to universal empire; he also addresses his enemies with extravagant confidence in his ultimate success. The part of Arabia where his career was passed has rarely been subjected to foreign influence: its civilization in Abdallah Ibn Hamzah's time was not unlike that of Canaan in the time of David. David has to be pictured as far more earnest, far more conscious of his mission, and far more devout. The life of Abdallah Ibn Hamzah is probably nowhere described so minutely and impartially as that of David in the books of Samuel. But the parallel will, perhaps, serve to remove the incongruity that might be felt in ascribing a devotional book to a man who lived the same sort of life. The ode is to such persons a faithful friend to which they can commit their emotions; the interest which attaches to their persons induces some one or other in their immediate neighbourhood to claim to participate in the solace of these effusions. So they come to be perpetuated. Moreover, in the ode, as we shall presently see, music is in certain cases of great importance. And though men compose poetry for themselves, music is for an audience.

A portion of the divan of Abdallah Ibn Hamzah, which some day will interest students of the Oriental character, is a series of odes addressed by him to his wife, or rather his chief wife, since the man was evidently a polygamist. That delicacy, and even chivalry, should exist amid the domestic institutions of primitive times is strange; but these odes bear witness to it.

From the analogy of the divan we have just left and others we should expect that "I" everywhere meant a definite individual, and, indeed, the author of the poem in which it occurs. Whole divans are devoted to the penitential or ascetic style, of which the Psalter exhibits so many specimens. That of Abu 'l-Atahiyah, a poet of the eighth century,[1] contains some hundreds of odes in which the author confesses and preaches. The first personal pronoun is common enough therein, but there is never any doubt concerning its meaning. "I am tried with a world whose cares never end; and I see nothing for it but faith and patience. When the day's business is over, and I fancy myself secure from mischief, night brings something fresh. How many an offence I have committed, of how many a crime have I been guilty! How many a friend has given me warning, but I would have none of it! Tempting passions called me to worldly things, so I let go my religion and went after them." "I have tried to give up the world, but still hanker hereafter. My hankering is blended with asceticism. And I find it hard to free my soul from habits that it fosters." These are all personal experiences, the value of which, indeed, lies in the fact that they are the confessions of an individual; the "I" is the poet Abu 'l-Atahiyah, who thinks it worth while versifying his experiences for the benefit of his fellows. We open another ascetic divan, about a couple of centuries later. "My afternoon," says the poet, "is come, and soon my sun will be setting. I have been on no pilgrimage, but many a calamity goes on pilgrimage to me." The poet's biographers infer from this verse that he actually never went on pilgrimage, and, doubtless, their inference is correct. Indeed it would be a safe generalization that whatever may be the case with "Thou" and "He," by "I" the speaker himself is invariably intended.

[1] Published at Beyrut.

We may now consider the evidence of the headings. These may be illustrated from Arabic literature in a double manner. On the one hand the fact strikes us that some of the Psalms have headings, whereas others have none. Some of them are tolerably precise, *e.g.* xxxiv. "by David, when he feigned madness before Abimelech, who drove him out, so that he went." *Abimelech* is an error for *Achish*; whence it follows that this heading was not made by a compiler, who would have got the right name from 1 Samuel, but must have been a traditional title attached to the poem. The same inference is to be drawn from the title of Psalm vii., "sung by David to the Lord concerning Cush the Benjamite." Cush, the Benjamite, is otherwise unknown, whence the heading must follow a tradition that has perished; for this name could not be inferred from the content of the Psalm. Therefore, if we examine the headings without unreasonable credulity or scepticism, we should infer that the compiler stated the occasion of the Psalm where there was any tradition on which he could rely; that this tradition was independent of the existing Bible; and that there was no intentional deception practised. For in a life so fully told as that of David any one who amused himself by discovering occasions for the Psalms would have no difficulty. One who intended to deceive would therefore either assign occasions to all the Psalms, or, if he found the game tedious, would assign them, say, to the first third. But the rarity of the specific occasions, combined with the fact that, few as they are, they embody some matter not otherwise known to us, would appear to be a striking proof of good faith.

Most of the Arabic divans, whether published or still in MS., exhibit the same phenomenon. In writing the life of Abu 'l-Ala, of Ma'arrah, I found the headings of his poems preserve several traditions which the very full biographies of him that we possess had overlooked. And

yet in the case of many of his poems there is no heading. The collection we possess seems to have been edited by a pupil, who probably asked the poet for some information about the occasions of all the poems; in some cases this could be given fully, in others it had either been forgotten or was intentionally concealed. The biography in his case also preserves some verses which the divans do not contain, while illustrating his life from the divans. A principle of arrangement is not always to be looked for in these divans. Where it is alphabetical, the poems arranged under each rhyming letter are put together haphazard. Chronological arrangement is occasionally found, but is not very common. There is often a tendency to group together poems that bear on the same subject, but it is an error to regard as a principle what is merely a tendency.

An illustration of the nature of the headings in an ordinary divan may be taken by opening one of them at random, and the resemblance to the headings of the Psalms will be found sufficiently striking. We will glance at a series in the divan of the Sherif Al-Radi, a poet of the end of the tenth century. First a dirge on a man who died in 387 A.H., name and date being given. Next poem one of consolation to the Caliph on the loss of a son in the year 377, name and month being given. The next an ode describing the deposition of the Caliph in the year 381. The next a lament over the ex-Caliph's death in 393. The next a lament over a famous vizier in 385, names and dates being accurately recorded. The next a lament over an eminent lady about whom some details are given, of the year 399. The next "a lament over one of his friends." Then come eight poems with no details in the headings. Then one of the year 383, "when the author was twenty-three years of age, and saw some white hairs appearing among the black." If we compare this series, which could

be paralleled from most of the divans known to me, with a series of Psalms, the chief difference will be found to consist in the greater rarity with which the headings of the Psalms give details and dates. It seems almost impossible to lay too great stress on the fact that in the great majority of cases the compiler of the Psalter says nothing of the occasion; for this compels us to attach importance to the cases wherein he breaks silence on this subject.

But the headings apparently ascribe Psalms not only to David, but to a variety of persons, and sometimes to several at once. Psalm lxxxix. contains, as we have seen, information which can only have come from David himself; but it bears the title *Maschil*, by Ethan the Ezrachite. Psalm lxxxviii. has the title "Song for the lyre, by the sons of Korach. By Menasseach to 'Commencing to sing.' *Maschil* by Heman the Ezrachite." (Menasseach is evidently from this passage a proper name, meaning "Victor," like Zafir; the "chief musician" may therefore be deposed.) How can the same poem be by the Sons of Korach, Heman the Ezrachite, and Menasseach? No Arabic scholar would be puzzled by these headings for many minutes; the analogy of the titles in the *Kitab Al-Aghani* is too striking. What we learn from that work is that a poem might be the joint property of many persons; for the air to which it was sung was at least as important as the words of which it consisted. Hence we have only to read a few titles in the *Kitab Al-Aghani* to recognise, if not the exact equivalent, at any rate the precise analogy of *Maschil*, *Miktam*, Menasseach, etc. One or two specimens out of hundreds will suffice. "The poem is by Ja'far the Harithite; the air by Ma'bad; Amr Ibn Banah states that Ibn Suraij performed it to another tune; Hammad states that the Hudhalite performed it to another." "The poem is by Mansur Al-Namiri; the air (*ramal*) by Abdallah Ibn Tahir; also another (*ramal*) by Al-Raff; also another (*thakil*, no. i.)

which Habash also ascribes to Al-Raff." "The poem is by Al-Akhtal, the air by Amr al-wadi (*hazaj* with the first finger); also another (*ramal*) said to be by Ibn Jami'; also another (*khafif ramal* with the middle finger); also another (*khafif thakil* no. i. with the middle finger) by Ibrahim." We need have no further difficulty about the words *Maschil*, *Miktam*, etc., or the names Asaf, Menasseach, Heman the Ezrachite, etc. To the compiler of the Psalm book, as to the compiler of the *Kitab Al-Aghani*, the air is the important matter; for that, he probably had as imperfect a notation as the author of the *Kitab Al-Aghani* has. *Maschil* and *Miktam*, which are so unintelligible to us now, had some definite meaning in the old musical science of the Hebrews—a science which very likely had the name *Kesheth*, "the bow," since in 2 Samuel i. David's dirge has prefixed to it the notice that David ordered the children of Judah to be taught *Kesheth*. To David's poems airs had in some cases been attached by himself, in other cases by famous musicians; hence the tradition of the airs is what is preserved in the headings, and there is nothing surprising in the same poem having been set to music by a number of persons. And since the Psalms are unmetrical, the analogy which should be before us is that of the modern anthem rather than that of the hymn; in the former case it is clear that the name of the musician is far more important than that of the writer of the words, since the *artistic* part is the musician's. As we have already seen, "the word of the Lord is tried" by the fact that owing to its power and profundity metre would only fetter it needlessly; but when the Psalms were composed, the Hebrews doubtless thought of the poem as the words belonging to a tune, rather than of the tune as belonging to the words.

The antiquity of the Psalms may therefore be gauged by the following facts: when the Chronicles were composed,

the meaning of the headings had been forgotten, and *Menasseach* already regarded as a participle; of the persons who are mentioned as setting them to music Solomon appears to be the latest; for from 1 Kings v. 11 we learn that Ethan the Ezrachite was earlier than he. Whether in the case of Psalm xc. we are to suppose the air (*Tefillah*) ascribed to Moses, and the words to David, or conversely, is not clear; nor is the matter of much importance.

We should misunderstand the effect of music on the Oriental, if we supposed the words of an ode to have anything like the same importance as the air. The great work to which reference has been made is a mine of anecdotes illustrating the power of music. Poetry, when recited, wins admiration, if sufficiently brilliant; but when sung, it maddens. Often we read of the capacity for drinking bearing a definite ratio to the power of the music; "the Caliph drank so many quarts over an air" is a fairly constant formula, by which we can gauge its beauty. Another writer has collected verses, the sound of which, when set to music, caused the hearers to fall down dead;[1] fainting fits are by no means rare effects of verses sung to thrilling airs. At different periods of the Caliphate two singers are able to stop all the traffic between the regions of Baghdad. The art is ordinarily considered unworthy of a gentleman, but nevertheless members of the imperial family were found to cultivate it, and a minister who endeavours to suppress the talent in his son is rebuked. Sometimes the author of the poetry is also the composer of the air; but this was apparently not common. Owing to the imperfect musical notation of the time, the composer of the air had always to sing it himself in the first case; but often he would instruct some professional singer, male or female, who would then be employed to perform it in public, or in the patron's presence. The composer of the

[1] *Al-'Ikd Al-Farid*, iii. 198.

music counts in such cases as the chief author; for often the verses sung are common property, the name of the author having been forgotten.

We should not be justified in identifying the music of the Arabs with that of the Canaanites, and indeed the history of the former is so well recorded that such a proceeding would be impossible. A fairly close resemblance is all that need be assumed. On two occasions in Israelitish history we hear of the lyre being employed to rouse and calm ecstasy. We should probably think of the procedure not as of the playing of pieces of instrumental music, but as the performance by a singer of some verses, that he had either composed or learned, with the voice and instrument at once.

That David was a musical expert is a historical certainty, if anything connected with David be certain. He entitles himself "tuner of the airs of Israel,"[1] and that title implies that in his mind also the music was the primary concern. It seems difficult to think of the work of the founder of the Judaic dynasty being either forgotten and neglected during the reign of his successor, or being mixed up haphazard with a whole pile of anonymous performances.

What, moreover, seems clear is that the collection was made before the technical language of the Davidic music had been forgotten, and this had evidently been forgotten not only when the LXX. translation was made, but even when the Chronicles were compiled. The loss of this science must have been occasioned by some break in the national history, and this is most probably the Exile.

The omission from the Psalter of odes which should naturally have been given a place in it, had it been intended to include the works of others besides David, or had it been intended to include poems which were not religious, suggests the inference that the compiler only

[1] 2 Sam. xxiii. i., נעים = *Naghgham* (*Taj al-'arus*, ix. 86).

inserted hymns of which the words were supposed to be by David, though the airs were frequently by others.

The fact that the national history, as it appears in the Psalms, closes with David, makes the Salomonic age the most likely period for the compilation of the book. That some of the references to the Exile are inserted by editors who had no intention of letting them count as the work of David, is obvious; but whether the references which are found in the body of the Psalms are necessarily signs of post-exilic origin cannot be determined till the whole phenomenon of prophecy has been brought within the domain of science.

When the Old Testament revelation was consummated in the New Testament, the Messianic Psalms formed, next after Isaiah, the foundation on which the Messiah's claims were based. David's words were regarded as authoritative; the words of the 16th, the 22nd, the 110th, and other Psalms were given a new and thrilling interpretation. With the events foretold with fateful clearness in the Wisdom of Solomon and the latter part of Isaiah obscure passages of the Psalter harmonized: it was seen that the author of the Psalter was one of those to whom the vision had been granted in which God's purposes and plans were revealed. Such a vision was a privilege accorded to the friends of God; and was not God *compromised* (the word has been repeatedly used in this context) by such a friend as the David of the books of Samuel? Much of the conduct of David that may with justice be impugned is excused on the ground that morality is progressive, and conduct, like scholarship, must be judged according to the standard of its age. But if the worst act of David's life, the painful story of Bathsheba, be considered, the underlying character which David exhibits is much better than that displayed by most men in any age. Max Duncker remarks that the crime which caused David so much peni-

tence and contrition was one of which, probably, no other Oriental monarch would have thought anything, and, if there be any truth in history, it would have occasioned few scruples to most Defenders of the Faith. The second crime ought not to be judged apart from the first, of which it was the natural and inevitable consequence; David had to choose between an honourable death for Uriah and a horrible one for Bathsheba; and he chose the former. He who thinks Bathsheba could have been safe while Uriah lived does not see the whole hand. And when David is rebuked for the crime, he yields the point without argument; he is told that he has done wrong, and he receives the prophet in a prophet's name. When has this been done—before or since? Mary Queen of Scots would declare that she was above the law; Charles I. would have thrown over Bathsheba; James II. would have hired witnesses to swear away her character; Mohammed would have produced a revelation authorizing both crimes; Charles II. would have publicly abrogated the seventh commandment. Who has ever acknowledged an error of any magnitude, if it has been in his power to maintain that he was right? A recent writer has described the course of the ordinary man who falls into the devil's meshes, and that writer probably knows the human heart rather well. Loyalty to the weaker sinner is not a spring that works in the hero of that romance.[1] Cain's plan—that of silencing the accuser, and Adam's plan—that of shifting the responsibility, seem to exhaust the range of human expedients when an error is brought home. He who escaped from both, though *semustulatus*, was a "man after God's own heart."

D. S. Margoliouth.

[1] *The Silence of Dean Maitland.*

SURVEY OF ENGLISH LITERATURE ON THE NEW TESTAMENT.

As time wears on, interest in the New Testament increases rather than diminishes, and the results of scientific research are more and more widely distributed. Chief among the instruments of this distribution may be reckoned the two great Bible Dictionaries which are in process of publication. Dr. Hastings in the second volume ("Feign" to "Kinsman") of his *Dictionary of the Bible* (T. & T. Clark) fully maintains the reputation as an editor which he established in the first. He has suited his work to the needs of the working minister and enquiring layman, while in no respect foregoing the rights of scientific investigation. A large amount of original work will be found in this volume, and the contributors happily hit the mean between obscurantism and extravagance. It is an incalculable benefit to have so much knowledge and judicious statement arranged and compacted in so accessible a form.—The *Encyclopædia Biblica* of Prof. Cheyne and Dr. Sutherland Black (Adam & Charles Black) takes so distinct a line of its own that it can scarcely be said to clash with Dr. Hastings' Dictionary. The first thing that strikes one about it is the beauty of the typography and the ingenuity of the devices for economizing space. The characteristic of the work is its purely scientific aim. Biblical theology is excluded, but all questions of criticism, archæology, history, geography, chronology, are treated with astonishing completeness of learning. As might have been expected from the origin of the work, the Old Testament receives perhaps both fuller and fairer treatment than the New. But even the articles on New Testament subjects are full of instruction and suggestion. Every one who consults this remarkable Encyclopædia has the satisfaction of feeling that he is abreast of the most recent scientific enquiry.

Meanwhile, many of the subjects dealt with in these dictionaries have been separately handled in volumes devoted to their discussion. Thus we have a fresh instalment of the *Introduction to the New Testament* by the veteran Prof. Godet. This instalment includes "the Collection of the Four Gospels, and the Gospel of St. Matthew," and is translated by Mr. Affleck, and published by Messrs. Clark. Although Godet's conservative tendency inclines him to conclusions which are doubtful, there is much in this

volume which has not received the consideration it deserves.—A most useful, if not even indispensable aid to the study of the Gospels is furnished by the diligence and scholarship of the Rev. Arthur Wright, vice-president of Queen's College, Cambridge. It is published by Messrs. Macmillan, and is entitled *The Gospel according to St. Luke in Greek after the Westcott and Hort Text, edited with Parallels, Illustrations, Various Readings and Notes.* On each opening are four columns, three containing the parallel passages of the synoptic Gospels instructively arranged, and the fourth being occupied by suggestive notes. As a labour-saving arrangement, and as a guide to the actual relation of the Synoptic Gospels, Mr. Wright's volume deserves unstinted praise. His introduction, also, in which he adheres to his oral theory of the origin of the Gospels, deserves careful study. This is the kind of work which substantially promotes the solution of one of the hardest of New Testament problems.—Mr. H. H. B. Ayles, B.D., in his *Destination, Date, and Authorship of the Epistle to the Hebrews* (Cambridge University Press), presents in an admirable form the claims of Barnabas. Nowhere are those claims more fully discussed or more powerfully advocated. The volume is small, but must not be overlooked.—Another Cambridge scholar, Mr. E. H. Askwith, inherits the fine scholarship and critical tact of the Cambridge school, and illustrates these qualities in *The Epistle to the Galatians*, an Essay on its Destination and Date (Macmillan & Co., Ltd.). It is evidently Prof. Ramsay's investigations which have prompted this enquiry. But while Mr. Askwith accepts the South Galatian theory, he amends in several points the basis on which it rests, while he differs from Ramsay in regard to the date. It is a piece of work of first-rate quality, and encourages expectations of efficient aid from the same hand.—Another essay in Introduction, which owes its inspiration to Prof. Ramsay, is *The Epistle of St. Paul's First Trial.* This also is from the pen of a Cambridge scholar, Mr. Rocksborough R. Smith, and is published by Messrs. Macmillan and Bowes. It is an enquiry into the circumstances under which the Epistle to the Philippians was written, and it supports Prof. Ramsay's view that the trial was still proceeding, its first stage over, but the verdict not yet given.

From America we receive an increasing number of books which facilitate the study of the New Testament. Among these may

especially be mentioned Prof. George H. Gilbert's *Student's Life of Jesus*, which has deservedly attained to a third edition, and which exactly meets the requirements of the classroom and of private study. No better textbook for colleges and the upper forms of schools could be devised. Disputed points are judiciously dealt with, and the facts of the life solidly based. An eye is constantly kept on current literature. The same may be said of the author's *Student's Life of Paul*.—The *New Testament Handbooks*, edited by Prof. Shailer Mathews, of Chicago, and published by The Macmillan Co., promise to be useful. Already published are the editor's *History of New Testament Times in Palestine*, and Prof. Vincent's *History of the Textual Criticism of the New Testament*. The former, almost necessarily, begins its survey from the years immediately preceding the Maccabæan period, and comes down to the destruction of Jerusalem. It takes into account not merely theexternal movements, but the inner life of the nation. Prof. Vincent's volume traces the growth of the science of textual criticism, and will be found a useful companion to the works of Scrivener or Gregory. Both books should be kept in view by teachers and students.—Very remarkable is another small volume published by the same firm, *The Rise of the New Testament*, by David Saville Muzzey, B.D. It is a popular history of the formation of the canon, written with unusual literary deftness, and based upon accurate scientific knowledge. Books of this kind are worth their weight in gold, full of facts, yet facts so interpreted and co-ordinated as to be significant, fruitful, and memorable. Mr. Muzzey has produced a book which will be read with delight in three or four hours, and which gives more insight into the formation of the canon than the authoritative treatises. Its one defect is that it does not sufficiently discuss the criterion of canonicity.

Bibles continue to appear in various forms. Messrs. Eyre & Spottiswoode issue a cheap illustrated Bible, very suitable for schools, the illustrations being real and educative.—Mr. Starley, of Coventry, thinks that by printing the Old Testament in front of the New we turn that into an extinguisher which was meant to be a candlestick. He therefore reverses the order, and prints (with the Sunday School Supply Co.) a very pretty and convenient Bible, in which the New Testament stands first. Mr. Starley has evidently small respect for chronology, and does not

regard the separate printing of the New Testament as sufficient for his purpose.

Mrs. Lewis and Mrs. Gibson increase the debt which the learned world already owes them by issuing *The Palestinian Syriac Lectionary of the Gospels*, re-edited from two Sinai MSS., and from P. de Lagarde's edition of the *Evangeliarium Hierosolymitanum*. A Lectionary of the Gospels in Palestinian Syriac has long been known to form one of the treasures of the Vatican Library. It has twice been edited—in 1864 by Count Miniscalchi-Erizzo, and in 1892 after Paul de Lagarde's collation. In that same year the two learned Cambridge ladies discovered in the convent of St. Catherine another MS. of the Lectionary, which is here printed in a sumptuous form (by Messrs. Gilbert and Rivington), and collated both with the Vatican MS. and with another codex subsequently found also in the convent of St. Catherine. Nor have these eminent scholars considered their long and toilsome task finished by the printing of the Syriac text in its purest form, but they have compared it with the Greek text of Westcott and Hort, and have furnished us with more than forty quarto pages of variants. The fruit of their work is thus made directly available for the textual criticism of the Gospels; and although there is difference of opinion regarding the date of the version, it certainly forms an early and independent witness to the authentic text. Praise for the production of this volume is due, not only to the editors and printers, but also to the publishers, Messrs. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co.

The various attempts to render the New Testament into more exact or more rhythmical English deserve remark. Among these one of the most noteworthy is Dr. Henry Hayman's translation of the Epistles. It has been published by Messrs. Adam & Charles Black, under the title *The Epistles of the New Testament, an attempt to present them in current and popular idiom.* On the whole Dr. Hayman may be said to have succeeded not so much in giving a popular rendering, which is impossible, as in illuminating a number of passages by a fresh and intelligible translation. His labour has not been thrown away; for, although it is not likely that his rendering will be widely circulated, it ought to win the attention of serious students of the New Testament. Dr. Hayman prints the Authorized Version on the left-hand page, his own on the right, so that comparison is easy.

To exegetical literature the most considerable recent addition is the second volume of Dr. Nicoll's *Expositor's Greek Testament.* This volume contains the Book of Acts by Prof. Knowling, the Epistle to the Romans by Prof. Denney, and the First Epistle to the Corinthians by Prof. G. G. Findlay. On these books of Scripture we know no more satisfactory commentaries. They differ from one another in character and even in form, yet this lack of uniformity allows each writer freedom to follow his own genius. Thus, while Prof. Knowling completely abandons Alford's plan of relegating to marginal references much of his grammatical and linguistic elucidation, Prof. Findlay enriches his work with extremely full and scholarly notes on the margin. This difference necessarily involves that a somewhat disproportionate amount of space is allotted to these two books. Similarly, while Prof. Knowling uses no contractions, but gives all names and titles in full—certainly a great convenience and pleasure to the reader—Prof. Findlay runs to the opposite extreme, and spares only a couple of letters to indicate a name. In their conception of what a commentary should be, the writers differ. Prof. Knowling gives us the opinions of other scholars, cites passages, and abounds in detail; Prof. Findlay selects what is most telling, and furnishes many interesting illustrations from the classics and terse sayings from the commentators; Prof. Denney aims at giving results, leads us directly to the meaning, traces the course of the argument, but refrains from everything that might in any degree overload his work. Even in passages such as Romans viii. 3, which have become identified with great controversies in the Church, no allusion to these is made. But each writer, left free to use his own method, has materially advanced the knowledge of the book assigned to him. Prof. Knowling sweeps all modern literature, and gives his reader the pleasant consciousness of being abreast of the latest research; Prof. Denney, by his unsurpassed knowledge of theology and masterly grasp of its principles, takes us into the very heart of the most theological of the Epistles; Prof. Findlay's rare aptitude for exposition and trained New Testament scholarship find in his present work a suitable field and their best illustration. Altogether the volume is one which may claim to be at least on a level with the best work in its kind, and we shall be surprised if the public does not quickly manifest its consciousness that it has come into possession

of a thoroughly honest and solid contribution to New Testament study.

Messrs. Hodder & Stoughton publish for Prof. Handley Moule the last of his Expositions of the Prison Epistles, *Ephesian Studies*, Expository Readings on the Epistle of St. Paul to the Ephesians. Following the plan adopted in the preceding volumes, this seems to us to surpass them in interest and usefulness. Indeed, it is impossible to see what more could be done to bring the mind of the modern English reader into direct contact with the meaning of the Apostle. An exact scholar, a careful student of St. Paul, a theologian who retains his humour, his common-sense, and his knowledge of life, Prof. Moule has every qualification for the work he has undertaken.

Principal Garrod's method, as illustrated in his treatment of *The First Epistle to the Thessalonians* (Macmillan & Co.), is different from Prof. Moule's, and is adapted to the use of those who are preparing for examination. The author's position in the Ripon and Wakefield Training College has disclosed to him the actual wants of students, and these he seeks to supply in his analytic study of the Epistles. His books have already made way for themselves and proved their utility.

MARCUS DODS.

THE INFLUENCE OF MODERN SCIENCE UPON RELIGIOUS THOUGHT.

The passing of our century suggests the reconsideration of a well-worn theme whose importance has not lessened during its closing years of instability and change, a period which some have not hesitated to call the Age of Science. Whether the designation can be justified or not, it at least serves to emphasize the prominent place that science occupies in modern life. But inasmuch as she has not always been so favoured and may indeed be said to have won lasting recognition only within that world age which will become dearer to many of us the more it recedes from us, we feel a certain fitness in regarding her infant relations with the hoar study of theology.

In speaking of modern science I shall limit my references to the so-called natural sciences—botany, zoology, and geology. They are three definite sciences, dealing for the most part with definite facts of which theology has to take cognizance. They certainly make use of hypotheses, but merely in the same degree and for the same purpose that all other sciences do the like. They are not, as some still seem to think, entirely or even largely composed of hypotheses, but of hard, bare facts, between which and the facts of theology some *modus vivendi* has to be established. Geology is the science which investigates the past history of the earth with the view of accounting for its present condition. Geological speculations are as old as Pythagoras, but the foundations of the science were only laid in the end of last and the beginning of the present century. Botany and

zoology, on the other hand, are specially concerned with the morphology, physiology, origin and distribution of plants and animals. These sciences, in their latter-day exactitude, date from not earlier than the middle of the nineteenth century.

I shall refrain from treating of the earlier relations between science and religion, not indeed because this has been done already in a distinctive manner, first by Draper and then by Andrew White, but because, having been largely based on mutual misunderstandings, these unhappy past connexions may with advantage be forgotten, and we are thus left free to concentrate our attention on later interactions that have been more helpful and more abiding. Suffice it to say that these initial relations were characterized by mutual suspicion and antagonism, and that science succeeded in irritating even the most placid religious thinkers into wild reaction; but it was impossible in the nature of things that this attitude should be permanently maintained.

In a recent paper delivered at a Church Congress in Edinburgh, Professor Leebody, traversing similar ground, elected as his method of treatment to examine the principal theological positions, and show how they are either unaffected or modified by scientific thought. But we may gain a more distinct conception of the question by working from the other side, and considering the influence, first, of scientific *conclusions*, and, secondly, of the scientific *method*, upon religious thought. Of these two influences, the second is by far the greater.

I.

The influence of scientific conclusions upon religious thought has obviously been a widening, a broadening one; the theological outlook has been enlarged. Take, for example, the answer to the question, What is man? I do not

suppose that the modern answer to that question differs essentially from that which was furnished fifty years ago. But in saying that man is lord and king of creation, our fathers based their statement on the earlier chapters of Genesis; to-day we rest it further on the evidence of a long evolutionary process of which man is the final outcome and crown. So late as the middle of this century it was customary to pack the varied manifestations of Divine activity into a man's calculation of six thousand years; to-day, on the strength of that same age-long process, we are able to form sublimer conceptions of the doings of Him Who is the same, Whose years fail not, Who is from everlasting to everlasting God.

At the same time it is useless to deny that our expanded view of the physical universe, our enlarged idea of geological time, and the magnificent perspective of life that is intimately associated with these conceptions, have produced a certain subjective reaction within man himself. This varies with the beliefs and temperament of the individual. Amongst many it shows itself in hasty cries for generalizations, for systems of thought that shall be cosmic in their sweep. In others it expresses itself in whispered fears that the foundations of their faith are being sapped and that God is being driven out of His world. The former class may be left to look after itself, but it is the duty of the Christian Church to provide for the mental distress of the others. To return to our previous concrete instance: to many minds it seems that on the evolutionary scheme man is dethroned from his unique place of honour and dominion in the universe of God. But they had wrongly thought of him as absolutely distinct from, and having no relation in origin with, the brute creation around him. They had set man on a pinnacle by himself, had begun with him, and explained everything from him; they had worked from above downwards. The newer method of regarding this replica

of the Divine image works up to man through the rest of creation, and gaining more accurate knowledge at once of his kinship with the lower creatures and of that wherein he is alien to them, it comes in the end to him, recognising in him the anticipated consummation of the whole. And the two views differ in dignity, truth, and service as the Ptolemaic and Copernican theories of the motions of the heavenly bodies.

Besides the scientific conclusions dealing with man's origin and destiny, there are others touching man as he is—the man of to-day—that affect and must affect religious thought even more immediately than those previously cited. I refer to such prominent biological ideas as heredity, environment, and evolution itself.

For example, heredity has raised the problem of the inheritance or non-inheritance of acquired characters—a question upon which the biological world is at present divided. By an acquired character we understand a variation caused by the direct action of external conditions, and we think of it as opposed to a congenital or genetic character by which we understand one that has no apparent relation to external conditions, but is inherent in the constitution of the individual. The question is, Are such acquired characters transmitted or not? Here is a problem whose practical aspects far outweigh in importance those that are theoretical; it touches man in every department of his being—physical, intellectual, and spiritual alike. One man works Sandow's muscle-developing exercises morning and evening; has his son a better chance of becoming a little Hercules? Another, gifted with average mental qualities, deliberately sets himself to the laborious training of his mind till it becomes an organ of more than average ability; will his boys necessarily sit at the top of their class right from the beginning? A third man, forgiven and redeemed, concentrates his energy on the struggle against temptation,

and by the grace of God he meets with such success as is vouchsafed to mortal men; will he have earthly reward in the consciousness that for his descendants the fight will be easier than for their fellows, that the ideal life will be more within their grasp through his endeavours? Or, to put the matter generally in Francis Galton's words, Is nature stronger than nurture, or nurture than nature? On every side the question presses home; we look for the answer with expectancy.

Now it is not possible to give a full and satisfactory reply to this great question. The mere fact that there are two considerable camps championing affirmative and negative answers shows that the terms of the problem are as yet but imperfectly understood, and that sufficient data have not been collected upon which to base a solution that is adequate to all the special cases of the problem. It may even be doubted whether the distinction between genetic and acquired characters can be so definitely drawn as has commonly been supposed. Enough has, however, been already achieved in this important fascinating branch of study to suggest that the general and particular problems of heredity are not ultimately insoluble. Day by day the influence of ancestry is becoming more exactly known, as also the ininfluence of various factors in determining the nature of the offspring. And when we remember that since the days of Ezekiel, nay, even of the Decalogue, Scripture has had its definite incontrovertible theory of heredity, we recognise the necessity of watching and acquainting ourselves with the developments of modern science in this connexion. The old Hebrews were at one with us in perceiving the difficulty of reconciling the apparently exclusive principles of the transmission of qualities from parent to child, and of personal responsibility; but we are nearer the solution than they. Meanwhile, the application in the practical sphere is very obvious, for preacher, physician, and social reformer

are each compelled to note that men are not alike, that the same treatment is not suitable for every case, and that to be effective, reformation, moral and physical, must be, not wholesale, but individual.

And now concerning environment: here we are upon more certain ground. But as the influence of scientific thought with regard to this question is seen in the domain of religious life rather than thought, *i.e.* is practical rather than theoretical, it is beside our purpose to discuss the problem in detail. Environment is one of the best-known factors of evolution, and its effect upon the structure and tendencies of different organisms has been studied with great care. Many data, *e.g.*, have been collected bearing upon the manner in which the physical environment affects the function of organs. Function in its turn affects structure, and changed function and changed structure are alike inherited by offspring and increased from one generation to another.

These facts find direct application in the moral structure and tendencies of man, who is, however, unique amongst the creatures in his power of changing his environment, both physical and moral, even of creating artificial surroundings. The same environment does not produce the same effect upon different organisms, and accordingly we must study the individual and ascertain what environment will best correspond to his particular need. The very subject of this paper, again, assumes the influence of environment; for religious thought is always coloured by the characteristics of the age. And the religious thought of to-day is not exactly that of fifty years ago, but is tinged, nay permeated, by the scientific tendencies of the day. The message never changes; God and love, sin and forgiveness, are as much facts to-day as they were half a century ago. But the presentation of the message changes with the years; our ideas, our conceptions of God and love, of sin

and forgiveness, reflect the tendencies of the age in which we live. They change with the changing environment.

Then there is evolution—"God's way of doing things," as John Fiske describes it. Evolution, which has been the great working hypothesis of biology, is gradually becoming accepted as law not only in that, but in other fields of research. The question at present is simply one of the extent of its application. From it we learn that progress is gradual —"Evolution is continuous, progressive change"; "first the blade, then the ear, after that the full corn in the ear": that is evolution in the individual life. It teaches us, in a way we had not realized before, that the present is the child of the past by direct descent, and that the future has its roots in the present. It makes us regard revolution as unnatural, and it also shows us that reformation may be very slow. It compels us to take a larger view of things—not to estimate the river of life by the little circling eddies, nor yet by the contrary surface currents such as you may often see on mile-broad Asiatic streams, but by the whole flood, grand, full-watered, irresistible, as it sweeps towards its ever-nearing goal. There are, of course, the eddies, for advance in any given direction may not be uniform; there are the backward surface currents, for palæontology tells us of periods of apparent recession in the progress of individual species; there are the rapids, for successive strata sometimes disclose a quick advance in the development of forms under congenial circumstances; there are the pool-like, seemingly motionless tracts, for we have evidence of temporary stagnation in the otherwise progressive movement, of genera that often rested, marking time in the age-long march. Judge not the river by the eddy or the counter current, by the rapid nor by the pool-like tract, but judge it by the whole course. And let us be careful and charitable in our judgment, for already evolution has taught us that we are but poor interpreters of individual events, and have

little ability to determine whether they contribute to progress or not.

In the region of ethics, where we should naturally expect that evolution would exert its maximum influence upon religious thought, we find that the strife of debate is most strenuous. We have already referred to the factors in evolution, and noted the part played by the pressure of environment as one of them. Of the others, these are the most important: use and disuse of parts, natural selection, and sexual selection. The second of these, natural selection, or survival of the fittest, is the essentially Darwinian factor, and, under the influence of its discoverer's name, was for long supposed to be the only one that deserved consideration. To-day it simply takes its place as one of a group of factors, and its paramount importance is only insisted upon by extremists. Now it was the peculiar merit of Prof. Drummond that he asserted the existence and emphasized the importance of still another factor which he called the Struggle for the Life of Others, or Altruism, throwing it into contrast with natural selection or the struggle for individual existence. He traced a certain altruism throughout the brute creation, and tried to show that the evolution of animal life, while not in itself necessarily moral, might still be preparing the way for morality in man. While we may find no difficulty in reading altruism into Christian doctrine, yet every one is conscious of difficulty when he attempts to explain or regard the Darwinian factor in terms that are congruous with his Christian belief. Now if altruism be held to be the sum and substance of morality, then this difficulty must always remain. On the other hand, is it not possible that altruism does not exhaust morality—that self-preservation, self-assertion, self-perfection are just as important and as necessary to ethics as self-surrender, self-abnegation, self-sacrifice? In that case the difficulty disappears, and we

find the counterpart of the natural self-regarding struggle in the higher sphere of the spirit. For self-love in its noblest sense is surely just as much a duty as to show love to our neighbours; after all, life for us resolves into the play—the action and interaction—between the organism and its environment, human or physical. Unless we see to our personal development, we shall have nothing to give to others. Life is a perpetual giving and receiving; he who has nothing to give is dead; he lives most who gives the most and the best. And as we dare not rightly give to others that which involves moral loss or harm to ourselves, so for the very sake of others we are bound to make the most of ourselves. The altruistic motto is, thou shalt love thy neighbour. The individualistic motto is, thou shalt love thyself. The incomparable Christian motto is a choice blend of these two words, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself." Here we have law, not merely rational, but Divine.

If, then, all this be true, much that before seemed not only unmoral, but directly contrary to morality, in the evolution of life falls into line as a natural preliminary to man's self-realization, and it was George Romanes' chief count against the theory of a Divine mind in nature that she showed "the apparent absence of that which in man we term morality." The very struggle for existence is seen to take on an incipiently moral character. At least it contains a germ of good that will in time blossom into self-perfecting moral effort. For self-preservation is an obvious prerequisite of self-realization, which is in no way antagonistic to altruism nor necessarily done away by it. Self has its peremptory claims; they must be satisfied. "The young lions roar after their prey, and seek their meat from God," Who provides it for them, and not for them alone. The parallel in the Christian life continually represented in and out of Scripture as a struggle—and an expensive

struggle—will naturally suggest itself to every mind; here also many run and all do not receive the prize. Nay more, it is possible to imagine cases where one man's gain in the Christian life may mean another's loss.

This element of expense, of waste, of pain, is the most difficult to understand. It is a feature of both struggles, of the physical and of the spiritual alike. At the same time it is proper to recognise that pain, waste, and expense are merely incidents connected with, rather than any essential part of, the law of progress. Self-preservation, in its transmutation into self-realization, tends to eliminate strife and suffering. We can indeed imagine a state of matters where each only takes what the other gives, where the self-regarding struggle never enters, where altruism has become the eternal service of One Other, but that is not here.

II.

And now having said thus much on the influence of scientific *conclusions* on some theological conceptions, we may turn to the influence of the scientific *method* in the same sphere. With the development of science has come the development of the scientific spirit. It has given us an ideal of exactness; it has disciplined our thinking; and, if I mistake not, this influence has extended to religious thought. In the detailed discussion of any important question, the historic method of consideration is now always adopted: is there not the study of *Dogmen-Geschichte*? Science has long known the value of the examination of life histories, and theology has applied this method to the elucidation of her organic entities, *i.e.* her dogmas—for if they are not living, they had better be discarded—with conspicuous advantage. Further, it is by the aid of this method that the science of comparative religion has been developed. As a result we now see that all religion, not excepting the religion of revelation, has had a history, that

that history has been continuous, and that its successive forms should be investigated in their mutual relations. And thus we have been led to the recognition of something useful in the world religions, to the recognition of the fact that they had a function to perform, and that they exerted a wonderful influence over men—positions that had not been reached some fifty years ago, views that are the direct outcome of the evolutionary attitude.

Again, the influence of the scientific method is seen in an increased power of recognising the essential relations between cause and effect. May we not admit that theological writers have gained in the knowledge of what a *demonstration* involves? Not that rash and inconsequent conclusions are specially characteristic of religious exposition; but dealing with essential truths as religious thought, whether written or spoken, undoubtedly does, it is peculiarly incumbent upon her votaries to see that she is absolutely free from all liability to such aspersion. With regard to the category itself, there is perhaps a tendency on the part of the scientific man to overestimate its importance, or at least to be intolerant of the suggestion that there may be higher categories. Thus we may imagine the religious man stating his objection to this overweening conception somewhat in the following manner: "Before any attempt is made to bring science and religion together," he may say, "there must be a thorough criticism of categories. Science employs cause and effect, in most part categories that are purely physical. I say 'in most part' because some physiologists [1] have recently come to see that cause and effect are inadequate as final interpretations of relations in and between organic bodies. But be that as it may, you are not going to limit religion or the philosophy of religion to these conceptions of cause and effect. There are higher categories that we begin dimly to perceive, and science halts in the

[1] *Nineteenth Century* for September, 1898: "Vitalism," by John Haldane.

chain of her explanations. Why should she pretend that there are no higher conceptions?" To all of which the true man of science replies that he can but work with such tools as he has, that he is prepared to consider these higher categories when furnished with them, and that, though sceptical, he will not be so dogmatic as to scout the idea of their possible existence.

Again, the present critical spirit is eminently scientific. Conclusions of past generations are questioned, examined, refuted or rehabilitated. Formerly men were well content to accept statements and facts, theories and solutions, on the strength of a great name. For some, it was sufficient to ask, Who believes this? Who says this? And if the answer were satisfactory, they forthwith received the fact or theory into the garner of their mind. To-day that is all changed. No name is too great, no reputation too high, to prevent the statement or hypothesis lying under its shadow from being dragged out into the fierce light of modern expert criticism, and subjected, after microscopic examination, to the scorn or approbation of schools of self-constituted arbiters. Our age no longer pays implicit respect to the authority of authority.

It is not necessary to suppose that the average man assumes this present-day attitude without a pang. Some men are born iconoclasts. They ride roughshod over cherished positions, but it is not given them to know if they have committed any damage, for somehow they never return. They have not inherited any element of belief, but neither do they transmit. Others are less reckless and possibly more sincere. They find themselves *compelled* to question conclusions hoary with age, to doubt which seems like sacrilege. And it is just here that we see the helpfulness of the scientific method whereby they are enabled to preserve an open and impartial attitude towards subjects still under debate. If the judgment is adverse, they discard their cherished idea,

even although sorrowing, for the sake of truth; and if substantiated, they embrace it again with the joy of recovered treasure. Now I suppose that there is possibly no field of human inquiry where a greater mixture of essentials and non-essentials has accumulated than just the general field of religion. And surely there is no sphere where sharper distinction should be drawn between what is known and what is inferred, between what is and what seems to be. The influence of the scientific spirit is seen in the stripping off all round of non-essentials, as well as in the setting of facts in their true relations, in giving them their right value. All this may be easily illustrated in the different branches of theology—in Biblical criticism, in dogmatics, in apologetics, even in Church history. What is important to remember is that the present spirit of inquiry is not a movement to be feared, for, in the language of the unknown writer to the Hebrews, it merely "signifieth the removing of those things that are shaken, as of things that have been made, that those things which are not shaken may remain." Nay more, I will say that it is a movement to be welcomed. for it is at once helpful and necessary; so much so that even of those regions where its work has been most radical (as *e.g.* Old Testament criticism, where it may leave us as a result with but a portion of a book conforming to our earlier opinions of it), I believe we can say fearlessly and truthfully, though mayhap paradoxically, The half is better, greater than the whole.

The scientific method has likewise brought about an increased power of analysis in that sphere where we are considering its action. In consequence, an increased number of factors—of secondary causes—is looked for as the explanation of phenomena in the religious as in the natural world. In this way we are receding from the standpoint of the old Hebrews, to whom God was *immediately* back of all phenomena. They had no idea of second

causes. In the beginning God created the heavens and the earth, and in their opinion He acted in the same direct manner all along. But, on the other hand, ours is the gain in knowledge of the marvellous ways of His working; and although it is as true for us as for the original recipients of the message of Isaiah lv. that His ways are not as our ways, nor His thoughts as our thoughts, yet we differ from them in our ability to comprehend these ways in some dim manner, and even Kepler-like in sometimes being conscious of thinking His thoughts. On this view science is but the unfolding, the revelation of the thoughts of God which it is our privilege and duty to follow Him in thinking.

On the assumption that God has revealed Himself to men in nature, it would further appear that science is slowly compelling us to read our knowledge of nature into our interpretation of Scripture, in place of the older method whereby nature was interpreted by our conceptions of Scripture. Such a book as Draper's *History of the Conflict between Science and Religion* simply thrives on the disasters that have usually attended the now antiquated method of interpretation. Witness, *e.g.*, the past laboured attempts to demonstrate the perfect adaptation of everything in nature. The most trivial anatomical features of plants and animals were held to be perfect in the sense that they could not be better adapted for the fulfilment of their functions. Such an attitude of mind could not fail to do harm to a certain type of individual. I have heard of a well-known Scotch physician who, Paley-wise, was accustomed to dwell upon the perfect adaptation of the eye, and its glorious testimony to the Creator. His son, who was not inclined to be sympathetic, chanced in the course of his studies upon Helmholtz's observation that after all the eye was but an imperfect optical instrument; from that day what little faith he had completely disappeared. But we are more fortunate; for we have learned that there is no such thing as perfect adapta-

tion amongst organisms, that perfect adaptation means stagnation, since it removes an essential factor in progress.

And in like manner in place of the older teleology we have gained a new one on a nobler and farther-reaching scale. We all know something of past strained attempts to prove immediate design, *e.g.*, in the interrelations of plants and animals, whereby the true function of many of their parts was for long obscured. We also know how it seemed as if the teleological argument had been emasculated by reason of the theory of natural selection, with its demonstration that adaptation might after all be due to chance variations. There is no necessity to attempt to show how this position can be turned by urging that adaptation implies adaptability, that after all natural selection can only work upon prepared material, or by denying the absolutely fortuitous character of variations. What I would rather lay stress on is the line of thought pursued in Illingworth's *Divine Immanence*, where he contends "that the entire material order, with all its infinite complexity, ministers to another and a higher order of being—the spiritual—from which it receives no reciprocal return, and is therefore intended or designed to do so," finding with him the strength of the argument in the width and variety of these ministrations.

In commenting upon the interdependence of anthropological and theological questions, Principal Tulloch has remarked that "a meagre anthropology has for its counterpart a meagre theology." By this you might infer that an individual's or a people's view of man is a criterion of their views upon ultimate questions. How much more is an individual's view of God a criterion of his theology? How much more a nation's conception of God an index of its progress? Who has not shuddered as he acquainted himself with the mediæval popular conceptions of God formed by men who were crassly ignorant of nature—conceptions as,

e.g., of an extra-mundane giant magician, which are far enough removed from New Testament teaching, and yet contrive to linger with us to this day? That they have been largely abandoned, is mainly due to the clarifying and purifying influence at once of science and of her method. Men have got into touch with nature, have learned her order and her laws, and see in them the Divine method of operation. And, as was to be expected, they have formed fresh views of the Masterful Mind that is back of it all, have reached conceptions of Him that are more in keeping with the excellence of His work.

These twin influences have, then, on the whole been negative, but I do not believe that on that account there is any necessary fundamental antagonism between science and religion. True, there have been sufficiently bitter contests waged on the one hand by theologians with little or no conception of the purpose and methods of science; and, on the other hand, by men of science who continually confused theology with religion. But truth is a unity; we may regard her from different sides, but it is impossible that two bodies of true thought can remain in chronic antagonism.

If, now, we shift our viewpoint, and consider all these influences that have been specified as still at work, we gain a fair idea of the value of science and her method for the modern preacher; we see how it is possible for her to continue to exert a beneficial influence upon religious thought. I question whether the merit of such study can be stated with greater terseness than has been done in a recent paper, to which the writer is already indebted, by the Chicago University Professor of Botany in the *American Journal of Theology*. "Contact with the so-called humanities," says John Merle Coulter, "cultivates the power of appreciation, the ability to recognise what is best in human thought and conduct. The power of appreciation involves

both the injection of self and an artificial standard. Self-injection means the ability to read between the lines, to put into them a meaning which is suggested rather than stated, and which is in the main a subjective result, dependent upon the individual and not upon inherent truth. The standard of appreciation for most persons is conventional, for a few individuals in all cases subject to wide variation. This simply means that there is no standard of appreciation fixed in the nature of things, and that this process does not necessarily bring the mind into contact with essential truth. The pulpit has largely developed the ability to read between the lines, and self-injection is a conspicuous feature of pulpit utterances. This power is admirable, and must be cultivated, but runs to dangerous extremes unless checked by a complementary power. The complement to the habit of self-injection is most definitely developed by scientific training. In obtaining results from the study of the phenomena of science, their value is in proportion to the power of self-elimination possessed by the trained observer. Any self-injection introduces error and vitiates the result. The standard in this case is not a conventional or variable one, but is absolute truth.

"Both kinds of training are essential to those who would attack the largest problems, and who would wield the greatest influence. Unchecked self-injection may lead to mysticism, unrelieved self-elimination may lead to a rejection of everything that is not material. The best training has been obtained when these powers are well balanced." And then on the ground that reading about science is not scientific training any more than reading about righteousness is training in righteousness, he goes so far, following a suggestion of Principal Harper's, as to plead indirectly for definite scientific instruction in theological seminaries. And if science has exerted the manifold influence upon religious thought that we have just been considering—if she

has helped to clarify and purify it, if she has brought about increased power in recognising the essential relation between cause and effect, if she has brought about increased power of analysis, and helped to strip off non-essentials, and even if she has failed in her chief mission of imparting enlarged power of synthesis, of imparting some synthetic impulse, I hold that she can still effect the same influence to the advantage of our individual religious thinking.

It has just been suggested that science has exerted no synthetic influence upon the field of religious thought. The slow accumulation of data, the year-long observations of the specialist, the tedious reiterated attempts of the experimenter, are all conducted in the hope that they will lead to the discovery of law. The range and diversity of data in the sphere of religion is appalling, and calls for the highest development of the synthetic power to grapple with them. We have only to look around, not only in theology, but in economics, socialism, and the other kindred studies that concern themselves with man, to see how lack of such training, resulting in the foundation of theories either upon an insufficient number of data or on data that have no essential relation to the conclusions, has given rise, daily gives rise, to the most ephemeral of schemes. How then is science related to religion in this respect? Do the generalizations of the former allow for the inclusion of the latter? Huxley remarks somewhere that the lion will never lie down with the lamb unless the lamb be inside the lion. But is this the probable relation of the two? Or is there a higher synthesis that we may expect to include them both? It is professedly difficult to arrive at any solution of this very intricate question. The time has not yet arrived for that solution. Huxley's is, at any rate, impossible, at least for those who believe in the final dominion of spirit. But in an ancient collect I find these words: "Præsta, quæsumus, omnipotens Deus: ut semper rationabilia meditantes, quae

tibi sunt placita, et dictis exsequamur et factis." "Semper rationabilia meditantes"—not merely intellectual contemplation, but that practical meditation of practical men, in virtue of which they will look down their microscope religiously, will chip their stone religiously, and will, even when repeating to themselves some well-known, well-established formula, such as The sum of the angles of a triangle is equal to two right angles, be able at the same time devoutly to say, "O God, I am thinking Thy thoughts." To such men every new fact disclosed by biology will simply be a new disclosure of the mind of the Logos,—that is, of Christ.

But this is not as yet, and mainly for one reason. Writing to commercial Corinthians St. Paul draws the distinction between things that are seen—things temporal, and things that are not seen—things eternal; or to express it in terms that will suit our purpose better, between that which is external, and that which lies within or behind. Now, of course, science says that the things that are seen, that which is external, are the real things; it is part of her working hypothesis. Religious thought, with deeper penetration, sees in them naught but things shadowy and fugitive, the temporary vehicles, it may be, of the spiritual which is behind and within. As long as science holds uncompromisingly to her limited view, it is obvious that she can supply no leading thought in religion, which, where it is possible, is the highest honour open to any of the branches of human knowledge. And this renders all the more necessary that spirit of humility which is found in all truly scientific men—though not, unfortunately, amongst their satellites—a spirit fitly expressed in these familiar lines:

> Our little systems have their day,
> They have their day and cease to be,
> They are but broken lights of Thee,
> And Thou, O Lord, art more than they.

J. Y. Simpson.

DOCTRINES OF GRACE.

The Sacraments.

It was a great theologian who defined a Sacrament to be the visible form of an invisible grace, and this definition is the more felicitous because it not only describes with accuracy certain ordinances of Christ, but also allies them to what may be called the sacramental law of nature. It has been an unfortunate disability of human thought to distinguish so sharply between what is seen and what is unseen, as to place the supernatural in contrast to the natural and to deny the unity of the universe. It was part of the Divine wisdom of our Lord to ignore this distinction in His teaching, and ever to treat nature as the body in which the spiritual was incarnate, and as the parable which was its revelation. What we saw and handled corresponded with what we thought and felt, so that the spiritual, which had appealed to our mind, became real to our senses; and as one commits to printed words upon a page what he has imagined, so we are to recognise in the phenomena of nature the shapes of the mysteries of grace. Christ did not compare the spiritual to the natural, but He was accustomed to identify them so that the sign became the thing signified. He was the true vine, whose sap was to be the principle of fertility in human souls; He was the light which would illuminate every human mind; He was the bread which would support the life of the soul; He was the water which would satisfy its thirst; He was the seed of indestructible vigour which might be cast into the ground but would spring up to future harvest. As He moved through nature it became the transparent veil through which the spiritual will ever shine—a vast and Divine Sacrament.

Although we have not the vision of our Master, and impressions from the outside are apt to fall on us like snow upon a blind man's face, yet we are not quite indifferent to the spiritual effects of the world into which we have been born and which laps us round on every side. Our emotions correspond to the fresh beauty of sunrise, the golden glory of sunset, the awful majesty of a thunderstorm, the austere purity of the everlasting snow, the unrelieved loneliness of mid-ocean, and the joyful hope of the spring. The emotion may be too delicate for any but a poet's speech, yet for even commonplace people it is real, and they have the sensation of seeing their subtlest feelings cast into the most magnificent form, and also being moved through their senses to thoughts which never otherwise would have visited their minds. No word of preacher or of book would have so suddenly and thoroughly affected them, and the effect with successive impacts becomes a part of themselves. If it seems strange that the souls should be fed by the Sacrament of the bread and wine, because the soul is spiritual and the elements are physical, it is quite as strange, but it is perfectly true, that the character of a people is largely shaped by the scenes amid which they live, so that an Italian peasant is the most volatile and gayest-hearted of men beside the blue Mediterranean, and the Highland Celt is the most sombre and reverential, living at the base of hills on which the mists are hanging. So the physical is again the instrument of the spiritual, and men's souls are shaped by the Word which dwells within.

We carry about with us in our very constitutions as human beings an evidence for the sacramental principle, for we have not only the eternal particle of the soul, but also the habitation of the body. It is not possible to imagine any human being as a disembodied spirit, and it is not likely there could be such a state of existence. We

cannot be utterly unclothed; if one body be removed, another must take its place; but it were less than the truth to think of the body as a mere vesture which can be put off and on like a cloak, for the body and the soul are so vitally connected that the soul may be said to penetrate and vitalize the body, to be the spring of its life and vigour. Through the body the sensations of the outer world pass into the soul, and through the same body the soul expresses itself and exercises its power. While the humility of the body veils the glory of the soul, as the elements in the Sacrament are a poor dwelling-place for the Lord, yet the soul is able so to transform the body, that by-and-by we catch the light within through the dim windows, and a man's face becomes the revelation of his character. As the Word comes to the elements and behold a Sacrament, so the soul comes to the body and behold a man. The crowning illustration of this truth is found in the Incarnation of our Lord wherein Deity has been united to humanity in a mystery. What an unbelieving Jew beheld was a peasant of Galilee, of lowly appearance and humble dress, who had no home and no honour, who was despised and rejected of men. What St. John and the Apostle saw was the Son of God, almighty, all-wise, all-loving, the very image of the Eternal Father. And the Deity and the Humanity are so united that they cannot be separated, so that whatsoever the Lord doeth as man He doeth also as God. Through His humanity streamed the efficacy of His Deity, and it was enough to touch the hem of His garment to be saved; and His humanity is so entirely part of His personality, that in the midst of the Throne St. John saw the Lamb as He once was slain. The sacramental law, which is the revelation of the unseen by the seen, and of grace by nature, which had been exhibited first in the creation of the world, next in the nature of man, came to its height in the person of our Lord Jesus Christ, whose Humanity was

as the bread and wine, and whose Deity is as the indwelling and eternal virtue.

During the dispensation of the Old Testament the Church was constantly educated and supported by Sacraments, which at first were numerous and general, and then became limited and definite. The rainbow upon the cloud assured the ancient world that God would not again cover it with a deluge; the gift of Isaac to Abraham in his old age was the pledge of God's faithfulness; the burning bush in the wilderness declared the presence of God to Moses, a common bush yet "afire with God"; a pillar of fire by night and a pillar of cloud by day, leading the children of Israel, were the signs of the Divine guidance. Aaron's rod which blossomed, and the dew on Gideon's fleece, and the light which shone from the breastplate of the high priest, and the Ark of the Covenant, were all Sacraments assuring God's people of His presence and unfailing grace. There were, however, two rites of the ancient Church which chiefly deserve to be called Sacraments, and which were, indeed, a forerunner of the two Sacraments of the New Dispensation. One was Circumcision, wherein by a sign in his very flesh a child was admitted into the Church of God and pledged to holiness, and the other was the sacrifice and feast of the Passover wherein the Hebrew people were not only reminded of the mighty deliverances of God when He brought their fathers out of Egypt, but also were fed and strengthened for the battle of life. The one was the Sacrament of union, whereby the soul was brought into covenant with God and made a member of the nation which may be said to have been in type and prophecy the body of the Lord; the other was the Sacrament whereby the fellowship between God and the nation was maintained.

While the Lord by His teaching and Spirit did not confirm, but abolished, the sacrificial system of the ancient

Church, and while He insisted that the kingdom of God was within a man, and that what the Father desired was worshippers in spirit and in truth, yet He in whom two natures met, and who is Himself the point of unity in the universe of God, was not indifferent to the necessity and service of Sacraments. It was a great demand which He made on faith, and it was needful to sustain it by outward signs, so that the senses should become the reinforcement of the soul; and a man be better able to believe in the grace of God when He saw it presented without Him in a symbol. For this end He commanded two rites, which are altogether perfect in the selection of the visible means and in the suggestion of the invisible grace. If any one should hear Christ's words, and believe in the Lord so that he was willing to be His disciple and to carry His cross, then let him be baptized in water to signify that his sin had been cleansed away and that he had become a new creature, that his old man had disappeared as if he had died, and that he had been buried in baptism with Christ. Let him come up from this baptism with a new name, and enter on a new life, and by his baptismal vows let him be consecrated for ever to the Lord. Without doubt the perfect idea of baptism is realized when one who has come to the years of discretion makes himself his own profession of faith in the Lord, knowing what he has done and having counted the cost, and then is immersed in the waters of baptism. But the same picture of spiritual things is still retained, although the water be only sprinkled on the face, and although the recipient of the rite be an infant, whose parents place it with prayer and vows within the Church of God as mothers placed their children in the arms of the Lord Jesus. The purest thing in nature, clean fresh water, is used to represent and to convey the cleansing grace of Christ's blood and Spirit. And by a speaking

symbol the soul is made a member of the holy body of Christ.

As the disciple of the Lord will be dependent upon Divine grace from day to day, requiring forgiveness as often as he sin, and strength as often as he is weak, he must live in constant fellowship with the Lord, receiving grace for grace till he come to perfection in Christ Jesus. As he accomplishes his great pilgrimage, he requires to be inwardly refreshed and comforted; and, therefore, Christ not only makes him to pass through the waters of the Red Sea, wherein he is separated from Egypt for ever and becomes God's free man, but He also spreads for him a table in the wilderness, so that he may eat and drink and go on his way rejoicing till he come to the land of promise. And to symbolize this constant communion with Himself, Christ instituted the Sacrament of the bread and wine. By bread, which is the richness of the harvest and the staff of life, is signified that body of the Lord—His Divine and human fulness—which is the food of the soul; and by wine, which is the very essence of the vine and the gathered vigour of creation, is represented that blood of the Lord which was His life, and which is poured out to be the salvation of the world. As one eats this bread and drinks this wine so can he, and so ought he, to receive the fulness of the Lord and the cleansing of His blood. The power of God, which permeates all creation, cometh as it were to a height in these elements of water and bread and wine, and through them sanctifies and satisfies and glorifies the soul.

If one takes a generous reading of our definition of a Sacrament, then, no doubt, there are not two but many Sacraments, for all the sacred acts of life, and especially such as are symbols, may be called Sacraments, from the meal in which we establish the covenant of hospitality to the kiss with which we seal the covenant of love. Cer-

tainly it is not without reason that the act of ordination by which the minister of Jesus Christ is set apart for his sacred duties, or the intimate union between a man and woman in marriage, are called Sacraments, for, indeed, both are deep and holy mysteries and the outward shapes of spiritual realities. Baptism and the Lord's Supper are set in a place by themselves, because they were instituted by the Lord, and because they are an obligation upon all His disciples; so that if one desires to enter into the Church visible, it must be through the laver of baptism; and if any one would give his soul the full benefits of the Divine covenant, he will obtain the same most surely and readily through the communion of the body and blood of the Lord.

While the Sacramental principle, that the physical is the body of the spiritual, is accepted on all hands, the efficacy of the Sacraments—what is conveyed by them—is a matter of keen controversy. It is, indeed, one of the misfortunes of faith that the two Sacraments, which were intended by the Lord to unite Christian people together by uniting them to their Head, have become a cause of separation, and the font of Baptism and the Holy Table of Communion are changed into battlefields where blood has been shed and hearts have been broken. Could there be a more bitter satire upon our religion than one Christian persecuting another because he differed from him over the mystery of Holy Communion, and two disciples quarrelling unto death who owned the same Lord and were trying to keep His last commandment, because the one took the words of our Lord's ordinance in the letter and the other in the spirit? One may, however, remember for his consolation that honest folk do not carry their arguments to such lengths, and will not make their doctrines matters of life and death, unless they regard the matter in dispute to be of the last importance. Christians have

surely counted the grace of God very precious when they were willing to die for the method of its communication, and they must have loved their Lord with all their heart when they counted their life to be less than the form of His ordinances. If Christians sinned against charity, it was not because they loved men less, but because they loved the Lord more; and, if they seemed to ignore reason, it was not because they had not used every power of thought, but because they desired that every thought should be brought into obedience to the mind of Christ. It has been a long and fierce debate, which is not yet settled, and which carries great issues with it; but one may be allowed to hope not that the fire should die out, and believers come to regard the Sacraments as a thing of no importance, about which it were not worth while to differ, but rather that it should cease to smoke and turn into a pure, clear flame of faith and love. And if the Sacrament of the body and blood has been the *disputa* of the past, around it may yet gather, as in the Vatican fresco, the saints of all ages and all schools, and the sign of the Lord's dying love unite men together on earth as it unites the redeemed in heaven.

It is pleasant also to remember how far the whole Church travels together in unity, and holds the same doctrine regarding the Sacraments. Every Christian believes that the grace of which the Sacraments are in some sense the channel comes alone from our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and that the grace dwells in Him as the Head of the Church and the Saviour of the race; that the Sacraments are intended to minister that grace to His people as they have need of it, afflicted by the corruption of human nature, contending daily with temptations, requiring strength for ordinary duty, and desiring to be changed into the likeness of the Lord; that the Sacraments can only convey this grace in full

measure, and without injury, when the recipient is in spiritual fellowship with his Lord; that the Sacraments are an obligation laid upon the heart and conscience of Christian people, so that every branch of the Church (with the exception of a few mystics, such as the Society of Friends, who faithfully keep in the spirit what they do not observe in the letter) is careful to observe baptism and the Lord's Supper. Is it too much, therefore, to say that in the essence of sacramental truth the Church of Christ, through all her provinces, has one mind, and that, if we are agreed that in the Sacraments we are cleansed by the blood and reinforced by the body of Jesus Christ, it is of secondary importance what is the exact method of the conveyance or the limits of the grace conveyed?

When we approach the actual efficacy of the Sacraments, and enquire what practical value they have for the person who receives them, for the Church, and also for the world, there is even here entire agreement up to a certain point; and more stress might be laid upon the truth wherein we agree, even though we must acknowledge the truth wherein we differ. The Sacraments we all hold are a picture of the Divine Grace, wherein we are taught by a sensible parable the love of God and the reality of Christ's sacrifice. They are, according to the express wish of Christ, a memorial of Himself, wherein we are reminded of His faithfulness unto death and His devotion to the flock committed to His charge. They are a prophecy that He who came once to die for our sins will come again for our perfect salvation, when "the day shall break and the shadows flee away." They are an open confession of faith in Christ, who has died and risen again, and who is now Lord at the right hand of God the Father. They are a bond of union between Christian disciples, who, coming from many homes and being of many kinds, are welded into one at the Holy Table, and, in eating the Lord's Body, become them-

selves one Bread. And they are a declaration of the Gospel, preaching as they do unto all men the sacrifice of our Lord Jesus Christ, before whom Christ is set forth crucified. As Christians behold the Sacraments, and especially as they receive the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, they are reminded, after a very lively fashion, of the whole truth of the Gospel and the love of their Lord, as well as of their own sin and shortcomings; and thereby they are moved to new faith and devotion; they are filled with new strength and hope. For this end it matters nothing, whether they receive the Sacrament as the Mass at a Roman altar or take it as the Communion from the table of a Scotch kirk; both Roman and Scot are quickened into holiness by the remembrance of "Him who loved us and gave Himself for us."

Christians who hold that doctrine of the Sacrament which incorrectly but conveniently goes by the name of Zwingli, for indeed this Swiss reformer held a higher view, will not grant that the Sacraments are any more than a beautiful and moving symbol; but those who belong to the school of Calvin are apt to consider this an inadequate and poverty-stricken statement of the truth. With the words before them wherein the Lord declares the bread and wine to be in some sense His Body and Blood, and the discourse at Capernaum, wherein He insisted that His disciples must eat His Flesh and drink His Blood, Calvin and his followers have concluded that the Sacraments, besides being most excellent and convincing signs of the grace of Christ, are also a means whereby that Grace is conveyed directly and truly to the believer's soul. Any doctrine less than this would not be worthy of the sacramental mysteries, and would not properly express the experience of the Church, for Christ surely went beyond a symbol in the words and

acts of the Upper Room; and a mere symbol can never be to the soul what the Sacrament has been to believing communicants since the day Christ rose from the dead and went to the right hand of the Father. While Calvin and all with him deny the real presence in the Roman sense, they hold firmly a presence of the body and blood of Christ in their spiritual substance and experimental power; and to vindicate this position, both against those who deny that the Sacrament is anything more than a sign and those who insist upon the presence of the actual presence of the body and blood of Christ, I quote the statement of Calvin in his *Institutes*: "We conclude that our souls are fed by the flesh and blood of Christ, just as our corporal life is preserved by bread and wine. For the analogy of the signs would not hold if our souls did not find their aliment in Christ, which, however, cannot be the case unless Christ truly coalesce into one with us and support us through the use of His flesh and blood. It may seem incredible indeed that the flesh of Christ should reach us from such an immense local distance so as to become our food. But we must remember how far the power of His Holy Spirit transcends all our senses, and what folly it must be even to think of reducing His immensity to our measure. Let faith, then, embrace what the understanding cannot grasp, namely, that the spirit truly unites things which are totally separated. Now this sacred communication of His flesh and blood by which Christ transfuses His life into us just as if He penetrated our bones and marrow, He testifies and seals in the Holy Supper: not by the exhibition of a vain and empty sign, but by putting forth such an energy of His Spirit as fulfils what He promises." And the same doctrine has been stated in the Scots confession of 1560, which runs: "We confess that believers in the right use of the Lord's Supper thus eat the body and drink the blood of Jesus Christ; and we

firmly believe that He dwells in them and they in Him—nay, that they thus become flesh of His flesh and bone of His bones. For as the eternal Deity gives life and immortality to the flesh of Christ, so also His flesh and blood, when eaten and drunk by us, confer on us the same prerogatives." The excellence of this doctrine lies in its profound sense of the power which works through the Sacrament, and in its success in reconciling the experience of the soul with the words of Jesus, while it neither lays an insuperable burden upon reason nor exposes a spiritual ordinance of Christ to the charge of materialism. It is also not the least recommendation of this view that it makes the efficacy of the Sacrament depend upon the operation of the Holy Spirit. As Christ was born by the power of the Holy Ghost, and the union between the Deity and the Humanity is sustained by the same Spirit, so it is by His quickening power that the bread and wine are, if we may so say, charged with the life of Christ's body and blood; and, without the presence of the Holy Spirit, Christ were not in the Sacrament, as without the same presence He would not be in the Church. As Christ is in the midst of the Church by His Spirit, so is He by the same Spirit in the element of the Sacraments, whether the water of Baptism or the bread and wine of the Lord's Supper. And as He cometh into every one's soul who opens the door in the preaching of the Word or in private meditation, so in the Sacrament He openeth the door Himself and receiveth His disciples into His heart. It is true that we can receive nothing more in the Sacrament than we do in the Word, for what more can be given us and what more can we desire than Christ Himself? But it is also true that Christ cometh in the Sacraments in a more intimate and satisfying fashion, sealing our faith and, with a sensible sign taking possession of our soul. And the power by which He acts is the Holy Ghost. This view is also

commended by the fact that it makes the efficacy of the Sacraments depend, not only on the presence of the Holy Ghost, but also on the faith of the communicant, so that the Spirit in the Sacrament meets the Spirit in the soul. As every blessing of the Gospel is dependent upon faith, and he only can receive anything from the Lord who believes upon Him, so it is incredible, and seems indeed profane, that one who is a stranger to the Lord and a hater of His Law should receive anything except condemnation in the Sacrament. Unto him who believeth, the water of Baptism is both the sign and seal of regeneration; but to him who believeth not, it is only a reproach representing that blood of Christ which is not cleansing him, that union to the Lord whom he is refusing. Unto him who comes to the Lord's Table with a believing heart, the bread and wine in the moments of their reception are the sign and seal of forgiveness and grace; but unto Judas they can only be the revelation of his sin and the means of his judgment. Apart from the Holy Ghost quickening the material of the Sacrament till it be inhabited by the person of the Lord, and quickening the deadness of our souls till they be moved unto faith and love, there is no virtue in any Sacrament; they are vain and empty rites. Wherefore no less in the Lord's Supper than in Baptism should the Christian beseech the power of the Holy Ghost that whatsoever is signified be performed: that the infant presented unto the Lord may receive from Him there and then the blessing of everlasting life, and the communicant who in his infancy was made a member of the Lord's Body be fed amid his labours and his trials with the bread of life.

Amid the pressure and the tyranny of the things which are seen, the Sacraments witness to the power of the spiritual world and its final triumph. They remind us that

whoso will save his life shall lose it, but that he who loseth his life for Christ's sake shall find it again; that Christ did not die in vain upon the Cross, but that by death He vanquished sin and this present world; that He is not dead, but is alive with a power which reaches through heaven and through earth; that those who are united unto Him are lifted above the power of death, and are members of an Eternal Body. And that, while this world, with its pride and its riches and its lust and its glitter, must pass away, he who has set his affection upon the highest things which are at God's right hand where Christ sitteth must remain, "for the things which are seen are temporal, but the things which are unseen are eternal." And the two Sacraments will continue until the shadows pass into the substance, and this veil of physical things be removed, and the Lord to whose grace and person they bear witness leadeth the Church which He has redeemed into living fountains of water in the heavenly places; and they, who, through the lowly elements of bread and wine, have eaten the very flesh and drunk the very blood of the Lord, shall be called to the Marriage Supper of the Lamb.

JOHN WATSON.

MEMORIALS OF THE PREACHING OF ST. JEROME.

THERE is a widespread but mistaken idea that no sermons of St. Jerome have come down to us. In the course of his researches, Dom. G. Morin, O.S.B., of the Abbey of Maredsous, in Belgium, has come across two collections of such sermons and some fragments, which he proposes shortly to publish. In the meantime, he has published a learned and convincing article on the subject, which will interest all students of Church History who have learnt what a debt we owe to St. Jerome as a student and commentator.[1]

In the first place, is it likely that St. Jerome, a priest and head of a monastic Church, would abstain from the office of preaching? We may gather from his own words[2] that he expounded the Septuagint daily to his brethren. Were not these extemporary utterances handed down? St. Augustine, in a letter[3] written some years before St. Jerome's death, quotes words on Psalm xciii. which are not to be found in any edition of St. Jerome's works, but occur word for word in one of the new fragments discovered by Dom. Morin.

The sermons, which are now to be restored to their true author, are of three kinds: (1) Homilies on the Psalms, (2) on the Gospel of St. Mark, (3) on different subjects.

The first series is the most important. Its history is connected with a document known as "The Breviary of St. Jerome on the Psalms," which is an old compilation containing many genuine fragments mixed up with colourless and inferior glosses. The genuine passages are some of

[1] *Les Monuments de la Prédication de Saint Jérome*, par Dom. Germain Morin. (Extrait de la *Revue d'histoire et de littérature religieuses*, i., 1896.)

[2] *C. Ruf.*, ii. 24. [3] *Ep.*, 148.

them expository,[1] others homiletic. The authentic collection from which the latter were taken is represented by MSS. of more modest contents, which do not profess to give a running commentary on the whole Psalter, but only St. Jerome's expositions of fifty-nine Psalms. Such MSS. are referred to in several mediæval catalogues, *e.g.* the catalogue of the Abbey library at Reichenau in 822.[2] Modern editors have neglected this second family of MSS. The Maurist editor, Dom. Martiniay, appears to have known of two, one from Corbey (identified by Dom. Morin as Paris B.N. Nat. 12152), but he was not equal to his task, and did not know how to use them.

The homilies on St. Mark have been edited among the works of St. Chrysostom. Erasmus was clever enough to note the extraordinary resemblance to St. Jerome's style; but, as he states in his notes, he had not the means to undertake a critical edition. It was reserved for Dom. Morin to convert Erasmus' suspicion into certainty by two proofs. First, the fact that the discourse on St. Mark xiii. 32–xiv. 9 ends with the words, "The xivth Psalm has been read opportunely, and we must speak of the Psalm," words which are found in the sermon on Psalm xiv. of the series of fifty-nine Psalms quoted in class 1. This sermon was preached at Quadragesima for those who came to baptism, and it begins, "The xivth Psalm has been read opportunely." Plainly, St. Jerome preached the two sermons consecutively. Secondly, Cassiodorus, in his edition of the Psalter, when he deals with the influence of the Holy Spirit on the prophets, mentions St. Jerome's exposition of the passage in which St. Mark says of John, "He saw the heavens opened." Critics had agreed that the work was lost, but the very words cited by Cassio-

[1] Dom. Morin has printed the expository notes (*Commentarioli*) from a series of MSS. hitherto neglected. *Anecd. Maredsol.*, iii. 1.

[2] *De opp. B. Hieronymi . . . in psalmos quosdam explan.*, vol. ii.

dorus are found in one of the sermons of this Ps. Chrysostom.

Having studied carefully the traits of style in these collections of sermons on the Psalms and St. Mark, Dom. Morin searched diligently among the many apocryphal writings in the MSS. and early editions of St. Chrysostom for other sermons of St. Jerome. But he could only find four, and among Ps. Augustinian and (as was supposed) Ps. Hieronymian writings some twelve others.

From the whole collection thus laboriously made, certain general conclusions may be drawn which confirm Dom. Morin's opinion of the authorship. (1) They were preached in a church. On Psalm cxxxii. the preacher exclaims: "We are in a church; how many saints are in the desert?" and he speaks of the services, how they had come to read or sing, sometimes with Alleluia, the very Psalm which he wished to expound. (2) Many were preached on Sunday, but the delivery of that on Psalm vi. was postponed till Wednesday, though the Psalm had been read on Sunday, through the indisposition of the preacher. There are sermons for Christmas Day, the feast of Dedication, the feast of the Apostles Peter and Paul, and a series for Lent. (3) From first to last it is plain that the preacher was a monk and his hearers were monks, to whom he spoke plainly of their faults: "We are called monks, and though we are not what we ought to be, let us keep to the name. We pray at the third hour, we pray at the sixth hour, at the ninth hour; we say the office at the lamp-lighting; we rise at midnight, then we pray at cock-crowing. . . . We have left property, we have left home, we have left the world, and we quarrel in the monastery about a pen."

There are interesting indications of date in reference to the apostate Emperor Julian († 363), and the destruction of the Serapeum in Alexandria, *c.* 389; in allusions to the Origenist controversy, *c.* 394, and the error of the Anthro-

pomorphites, which was denounced by Theophilus of Alexandria in his Paschal letter of 399. The extreme limit is given by St. Augustine's quotation of a discourse on Psalm xciii. in a letter written *c.* 413. The following reference is less precise: "The Church does not consist in walls, but in the truth of her doctrines. The Church is where there is true faith. But fifteen or twenty years ago the heretics possessed all the walls of the churches. . . . But the true Church was where there was the true faith." This is probably a reference to the edict of Theodosius ordering the anti-Nicenes of the whole empire to restore churches to Catholics, on the 10th of January, 381, from which we may calculate that the sermon was preached in 401. These sermons were certainly written in Palestine. In one passage it is spoken of as a part of Phœnicia in which the Apocalypse was excluded from the Canon, though received in the West and other Phœnician provinces and in Egypt. Again, in a homily on St. Mark the preacher refers to the enormous crowds who used to assemble for the Feast of the Passover "here in Jerusalem." And he speaks of his hearers having under their eyes the ruins of the Temple at Jerusalem, for when he comes to Psalms of degrees he invites them to count the steps and verify his statement that there were fifteen.

There are interesting allusions to the office of *sanctus presbyter*, the priest who had charge of pilgrims coming to the Holy City. The title has often bewildered copyists of MSS. and the editor of the Breviary, for they have frequently substituted quidam presbyter, sanctus propheta, sanctus spiritus. J. F. Gamurrini's discovery of the journal of a Gallican pilgrim explained at once the history of the title.

In that journal the pilgrim observes that it was the custom at Bethlehem that as many of the priests as wished should preach in turn, and finally the Bishop, and that the

services were terribly long. An amusing comment on this is found in the sermon on Psalm cxlvi., where the preacher says he had promised to be brief, but found that he had lied in so doing. "Surely it was a very useful lie . . . The hour constrains me to keep silence, the greatness of the mysteries constrains me to speak."

We find that the preacher's chief enthusiasm is for Bethlehem, though he does not speak as a native of Palestine, and uses sometimes Greek, sometimes Latin. "Indeed, all holy places are venerable both where He was born, and where He was crucified, and where He rose again, where He ascended as conqueror into heaven. But this place has a special sanctity. See how great is the pity of God. Here He was born as an infant, as a baby was laid in the stall." He longs to see the historical wooden cradle for which pious people have substituted one of silver and gold. "Silver and gold are good enough for heathendom; the Christian Faith deserves that wooden manger."

Can we fail to conclude that this preacher of the monastery at Bethlehem in the 5th century was St. Jerome, as the MSS. assert, supported by the testimony of St. Augustine and Cassiodorus? Dom. Morin is prepared to confirm the conclusion by an argument based on the characteristics of St. Jerome's style found in the sermons. Such an argument however is difficult to trace out, and appeals very differently to different minds. Only those can fully appreciate it which are to some extent prepared by the possession of corresponding intellectual gifts, and by assiduous study. The following are the more marked characteristics:—

1. The writer's knowledge of the Hebrew text and the Greek versions preserved in the Hexapla of Origen, which he quotes times without number. In particular the quotations from the Hebrew Psalter agree in a remarkable way

with the text of the *Psalterium iuxta Hebræos* left to us by St. Jerome.

2. His enthusiasm for the Holy Scriptures. He implores his hearers to read them without ceasing, and on nearly every page expresses his insatiable desire to sound their depths. Thus on Psalm lxxvii. he exclaims: "O how great are these mysteries, what flowers are here! I do not say a day, a whole month would not suffice for the understanding of this Psalm. There are meanings in every word. We have also a treasure in these earthen vessels . . . that is to say in the homely words of the Scriptures."

3. His indignation against heretics, and his contempt for pagan philosophers. With vigorous apostrophes he attacks Tatian, Marcion, Manichæus, Novatian, Arius, and all whom he suspects of having "an Arian spirit" (on S. Mark xi. 1–10). As to representatives of pagan philosophy, Aristotle, Plato, Zeno, Epicurus, he sarcastically compares with their failure the marvellous success of Christ's fishermen from Galilee.

4. The general similarity of ideas and even identity of a great many phrases with those found in the known works of St. Jerome. Dom. Morin has reproduced as many as possible of the most characteristic in his footnotes, to be a continual guarantee of the authenticity of his statements.

No doubt there are a certain number of difficulties to be encountered by this theory of authorship. Dom. Morin meets them stoutly, but they are for the most part too technical to reproduce for the general reader. Some of a more general kind had been raised by the Maurist editor of the Breviary, Martiniay. He objected to the exaggerated use of allegorical interpretations, to the semi-Pelagian teaching of some passages, and the tone of others in which the preacher speaks coolly of ecclesiastical and civil dignitaries, and uses almost Socialist language about the origin of money, not to add mistakes in quotation, a faulty taste,

and general inferiority of style. Dom. Morin will only admit that two of these objections have been made good—loss of memory and a colloquial style of language. As to the first he asks, Are not mistakes found in the most careful works of the most learned men? Is not loss of memory excusable in an old man? As to the second, he makes a very interesting point that St. Jerome preached in Greek as well as in Latin. The sermon on Psalm cxliii. begins with the words: "Although we have spoken at length on the Gospel, we must say something on the Psalter for those who are ignorant of Latin, that while some are satisfied others may not return starving." The natural explanation of this passage is that he then preached in Greek, and this would explain the recurrence of a large number of Græcisms, *e.g.*, ex secundo (Gr. ἐκ δευτέρου), the ablative and genitive absolute in the same sentence.

Gamurrini's pilgrim speaks of an analogous service rendered to the Latin-speaking brethren present at the catechising by the Bishop of Jerusalem. They were told not to be down-hearted because they knew neither Syriac nor Greek; all should be expounded to them in Latin.

Moreover, some of the mistakes in the Latinity of these sermons may certainly be attributed to the preacher's hearers, who wrote out his extemporary addresses.

In conclusion, Dom. Morin has grouped together a series of passages, which reach a high level of eloquence, and show the force of a strong mind. The following is a good specimen:—

On Psalm xcviii.: "Quæris, et dicis: Quare vel quare? Quomodo sit, nescio, et tamen credo quod sit. Miraris si ignorem de divinitatis mysterio, cum meipsum nesciam? Interrogas me quomodo et divinitas et incarnatio unum sit, cum ego nesciam quomodo vivam? Deum intellexisse, credidisse est: Deum nosse, honorare est. Sufficit mihi scire quod scriptum est, sufficit mihi scire quod credo:

plus autem nec volo nec cupio. Si enim plus scire voluero, et hoc incipio perdere quod credo. Fideles dicimur non rationales."

In a letter to St. Augustine (*Ep.* 112, n. 22) St. Jerome writes: "I am content to whisper with a mean hearer and reader in the corner of a monastery." "It seems as if posterity had taken the old man at his word." Think of the way in which St. Augustine's sermons, often retouched by his own hand, have been transcribed with loving care by hundreds of admirers, while the fragmentary notes taken by St. Jerome's hearers, often misconstrued by ignorant copyists, have survived in a pile almost unrecognisable, on which the modern critic scarcely deigns to look. "I have tried to rescue from unmerited oblivion these venerable echoes of a great voice. Shall I succeed in interesting in their favour the present generation, so disposed at times to repair the injustice of the past. I know not, but in any case I shall not have utterly lost my labour. I shall have my reward in the happiness, which I have myself experienced in taking so often, in the course of these last years, the place of 'the mean hearer,' with whom the man of God in the depth of his retreat at Bethlehem was content."

A. E. Burn.

THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO ST. PAUL.

ITS CHARACTER AND SOURCE.

THE question, What is the gospel? is the one to which all other questions concerning the New Testament are but preliminary. To find the answer we must throw the question into this other form, What *was* that gospel preached unto men "with the Holy Ghost sent from heaven," which moved them to repentance, which quickened at once conscience and hope, and issued in an exultant sense of pardon and peace with God? What was the form, and what the contents, of the proclamation which was everywhere recognised as news, startling, unexpected, good? It is to the solution of these questions that the solutions, even partial and provisional, of all other New Testament problems contribute. Doubtful or ignorant of these things, the Church is a herald without a message. Her very pomp and circumstance expose her only to the greater ridicule. Her supreme need is to discover or rediscover that which once was, and again might be, the power of God unto salvation.

A decisive answer to these questions is presently suspended through the operation of two different and opposite conceptions as to the character of the gospel, and the extent of the sources from which it is to be derived. On the one hand, we find writers who assert even with vehemence that the conception of the "gospel as the *rationale* of salvation which has been commonly traced to St. Paul, is neither Pauline or Scriptural." We find a certain system of Christian doctrine and the corresponding theory of Church organization basing itself on statements such as these: "The word 'gospel' in the New Testament is applied exclusively to the announcement of certain events occurring at a particular time in the history of the world." "Scripture never brings before us the gospel of

Christ except as the record of certain facts respecting Him." On this showing, all theories about the connection of these facts, about their meaning and their bearing upon individual or corporate need and salvation, are non-Scriptural. That construction of the facts and events in which the Reformed Churches have rejoiced as their message to mankind, is denied all Scriptural sanction. And the function of the Church as preaching the Gospel to every creature, is sufficiently discharged by the presentation to the minds of men of the consecutive events of the Gospel history.

That such a theory is held may well seem hardly credible to those who have not met with it, and seen it stoutly maintained and supported by an imposing array of Scripture passages. But even to those who may have been for the moment impressed by it, a short consideration must display its fallacious character.

The position that the "gospel" in the New Testament refers exclusively to "the announcement of certain events," is neither true nor credible. It is not credible, for the facts must necessarily be put into some relation with one another before they become a narrative at all, and they must be put into some relation with human life and history before they come to have any influence on human thinking or on human conduct, still more before they can lead to such results as St. Paul predicates for his proclamation. To take such a statement as that in Romans i. 2–4, and deduce therefrom that St. Paul's gospel consisted only in the announcement of these facts, is to forget that these facts have no coherence except in connection with the personality of Jesus, no religious or moral value except as illuminated by the purpose of His Incarnation, and no meaning for us except as related at one point to human need and at another to human duty. The announcement of the facts must necessarily be prefaced by some explana-

tion, accompanied by some interpretation, followed by some inference. But the moment such explanation or inference is forthcoming, we are going beyond the bare historic facts, and this theory falls to the ground. If, for example, we say that Jesus Christ "came to save His people from their sins," or that He "died for our sakes," we are adding to the mere announcement that He was born and died. On this theory such additions may or may not be true and important. The point is that they do not form part of the gospel in the Scriptural sense of the word. But the theory is seen to be absurd. The "gospel" consists of the facts, and more. The Church has not fulfilled her function of preaching the gospel by securing the periodical or continuous presentation of the events of Christ's life and death, but must find and present in her gospel at least some theory of the relation of the facts to one another and to human history.

But if further proof be needed, it will be found in St. Paul's use of the word "gospel," and particularly in his Epistle to the Galatians. What moved the Apostle to write that letter was plainly an insidious attack which had been made upon his gospel. His own authority as an Apostle had also been impugned. But even that concerned him chiefly because of the issue to which it tended—the rejection of his "gospel" and the substitution of another. He marvels that the Galatians have been so quickly transferred to "another gospel." He denounces in the most emphatic manner any one whatever who should preach a different gospel from his own, that which he and his companions had preached to them at the first. Now, the different gospel the proclamation and acceptance of which so deeply moved St. Paul, was not a gospel which differed from his in regard to the facts. No one has even suggested, no one could believe, that the older Apostles, say St. James or St. Peter, preached or countenanced a gospel which omitted

any of the fundamental events of our Lord's ministry. Equally with St. Paul, they proclaimed the birth, baptism, death, burial, and resurrection. As far as the facts were concerned, the gospel of St. Paul and the gospel of St. James were practically identical. The difference must therefore have been found outside the facts. The "gospel," both that preached by St. Paul and that proclaimed by his opponents, must have included something beyond the facts in which the difference could arise. It must have included some interpretation or application of the facts; that is to say, the Gospel according to St. Paul contained or consisted of the facts—and more.

The same conclusion may clearly be drawn from the Apostle's statement (Gal. ii. 2) that he "communicated" to the older Apostles "the gospel which he preached among the Gentiles." Had his gospel consisted only in the announcement of the facts concerning Jesus, there would obviously have been no necessity to lay it before James and the others. It must have included some theory of the facts, some theory deduced from the facts, which was unknown or unrecognised by them. And, indeed, we shall not be going beyond the clear implication of these passages if we say that it is precisely in this "more," in the inference drawn from the facts or the application made of them, that St. Paul finds the *differentia* of his gospel. The whole Epistle to the Galatians may be regarded as an exposition of the difference between his gospel and that of the Judaizers, and the difference is plainly one that lies outside the facts. It has to do with the way of salvation as conceived by St. Paul and his opponents respectively.

These considerations suffice to disprove what is asserted, that "Scripture never brings before us the Gospel of Christ except as the record of certain facts regarding Him," and also to prove what is denied, that there is some theory of the facts, and their application to human necessities, some

scheme of salvation which we have Scriptural authority for calling "the gospel."

But at this point we are met by the other objection, which comes from an opposite side. We have appealed to St. Paul. We have found in him our criterion for the character of the gospel. We are going to claim him as part of our authority for its contents. But we are met by a demurrer. We are told that we are beginning at the wrong point, seeking a criterion in that which itself falls to be criticised by a higher authority. There are few questions concerning the New Testament of greater practical importance than those thus raised. Are we to confine ourselves strictly, at least in the first instance, to ascertaining what the gospel means within the historic revelation of its Author, Jesus Christ? Does critical accuracy compel us to treat the Jesus of the Evangelists as the primary authority in distinction to the evidence of His Epistles, which is but secondary? Or, more bluntly, is the gospel according to St. Paul part, and a necessary part, of the gospel of Christ?

And certainly, if the two sources can be separated and distinguished, if the one can be set over against the other, the Church can have no hesitation in ascribing the primary position to her Founder and His authority. His teaching, His conception and proclamation of the gospel must be our norm. The fallacy of this reasoning, therefore, if it be fallacious, must lie further back in the assumption that the gospel of the Gospels and the Gospel of St. Paul are upon different planes, or proceed ultimately from different sources. Have we the right, not to speak of the obligation, to say that the one is immediate and primary, the other derived and secondary?

The assertion of such an obligation is a subsumption of the cry, "Back to Christ," which made itself heard so loudly a few years ago. It represented a movement superficially

attractive and promising good results. But already there are signs of reaction. The isolation of the "consciousness of Jesus" for the purposes of study, which was so brilliantly attempted by Baldensperger, and has been followed up by many others, has not yielded the results which once were confidently expected. The opinion is once more gaining ground that the method of investigation which begins by drawing a sharp distinction between the Gospels and Epistles as sources of information, though it may seem genetically correct, is not really satisfactory. The reverse method has at least equal right, that which begins at a particular circumference and proceeds from without to within. Two well-defined circumferences will be found—one in the limits of the New Testament; the other in the writings of St. Paul. Our business for the present is with the latter, and it will be a fair method to assume the continuity of St. Paul's Gospel with the gospel of the Gospels as a working hypothesis, and ascertain whether the facts will fall in with it.

But before examining St. Paul's teaching in the light of this hypothesis it is necessary to inquire, Where did his gospel come from? We have seen that it consisted in the facts regarding Jesus, and something more—some theory or application of the facts. Now some misapprehension has arisen from the failure to distinguish these two elements in his gospel, and to recognise the possibility that he drew them from two different sources or by two different channels. In the first place, as to the facts. It used to be the fashion among extreme critics to minimize the Apostle's knowledge of these in order to magnify the assumed discrepancy between himself and his Master. But however we may account for the paucity of his references to events and teaching, it is now generally admitted that St. Paul had before his mind a conception of our Lord's ministry which was accurate if not detailed, and a picture of His

death and resurrection which was both accurate and detailed. There is no reason to suppose that this knowledge came to him in any other than the ordinary way. Too much stress has commonly been laid on the Apostolic upbringing in Tarsus, too little on his long course of education in Jerusalem. On any theory of chronology it is probable that St. Paul was in Jerusalem during the ministry of Jesus, and if Harnack is correct in ascribing his conversion to a date within twelve months of the Crucifixion, the probability becomes almost a certainty. It is therefore quite possible that he had seen and heard Jesus in the Temple, and though his silence on such a point seems at first sight hard to understand, nevertheless it is explained by his own words in 2 Corinthians v. 15–17, when their sense is properly understood. We would go further, and inquire whether a consideration of all the passages in which he refers to it, and of the central position it occupied in his experience and theology, does not suggest that he had been actually a witness of the Crucifixion, a witness afterwards so filled with horror at his share in the death to which he then consented, that he kept that memory to himself, only to realize the more vividly its meaning for himself and for others. But, in any case, St. Paul's presence in Jerusalem as a contemporary of Jesus accounts for all the knowledge of the historic facts which he shows, and it is in accordance with the Divine method that the acquisition of such knowledge should take place in the ordinary way.

It remains to inquire as to that other element in his "gospel" to which he himself attaches so great importance —the interpretation of the facts as a scheme of salvation. As to the genesis or source of this element, St. Paul himself is our only evidence. But he does not leave us uninformed. As regards the validity of his testimony, it will be sufficient to refer to the impressive argument recently advanced by Prof. Ramsay (*Galatians*, p. 335). What, then, does

St. Paul say on this point? Probably the most striking form in which his testimony is cast is found in Galatians i. 12, 15, 16. He solemnly asseverates that the gospel he had from the beginning preached to the Galatians was received by him "by the revelation of Jesus Christ." That was the source of this element in his gospel, not of his knowledge of the facts, but of his perception of the nexus, the meaning, the application of the facts. The source of this knowledge was not what Jesus revealed to him, but Jesus revealed in him, the indwelling Son of God. That this is the force of the genitive, may be gathered from a comparison with the fifteenth verse: "when it pleased God . . . to reveal His Son in me." It is true that Bishop Lightfoot maintains that what is here described is the revelation of Christ through Paul to men, and it is always with profoundest diffidence that one questions any of Dr. Lightfoot's decisions. But here surely his verdict is not in accordance with the evidence. The question is, Does the Apostle mean that it pleased God to reveal His Son *within* Paul, or *through* Paul to men without? In the immediate context there is nothing to decide. But in ii. 20 St. Paul describes the effect of his conversion in the words "Christ liveth in me": in iv. 19 he describes the object of his preaching as this, that Christ might be formed in men. Writing to the Colossians he reminds them of "Christ in you the hope of glory," and writing to the Romans appeals to this Divine indwelling as a natural element of Christian experience, "if Christ be in you," etc. The experience he thus appealed to, postulated, or laboured to create in others, had first been his own. And how could he better describe that experience than by the words "when it pleased God to reveal His Son in me"?

But the language of this verse shows, further, that this experience was closely connected with that of which we are in search, the communication to St. Paul of his specific

gospel. The purpose of his conversion, and of this revelation of Christ within the man who at once became His Apostle is expressed in the phrase *ἵνα εὐαγγελίζωμαι αὐτὸν* [*Χριστὸν*] *ἐν τοῖς ἔθνεσιν*. The phrase is untranslatable, but plainly indicates that the Apostle is explaining how he came to preach the gospel, how he came to have a gospel to preach.

The knowledge of the gospel came to him at and in consequence of his conversion. And the process of that conversion was the unveiling of the living Christ within his soul. That seemingly single experience of Jesus as the risen Messiah proved to be complex. It involved a recognition also of the way in which God dealt and would deal with men in Jesus Christ. It carried with it the abandonment of old views, and the acceptance of new ones as to the way of salvation. It threw into solution all the forms of thought into which St. Paul's theology had crystallized under the influence of Judaism. But it crystallized his thinking afresh round a new centre. Paul entered on that experience intellectually equipped as a Jewish Rabbi; he emerged from it intellectually as well as spiritually equipped as a Christian Apostle. He had found at once a Saviour and a scheme of salvation. Details of the scheme remained to be wrought out through later experience, but his gospel was given to him in the revelation which it pleased God to make to him of His Son.

St. Paul claimed, therefore, for his gospel an authority superior to that of men, superior to that even of an angel from heaven; for it came to him and through him direct from Christ. This conviction of his must be allowed the full weight it derives from his character and his after life. But its validity can be tested, and, as we believe, established by an examination of his teaching and its relation to the recorded teaching of our Lord. But this must be reserved for another paper.

C. Anderson Scott.

A DAY'S JOURNEY.

It is somewhat unfortunate that Dr. Grieve, in his interesting article under the above heading in the new *Dictionary of the Bible* (T. and T. Clark), should, at its commencement, have quoted Jonah iii. 4 as a passage confirmatory of the definition he there gives. He then proceeds to say: "When the making of a day's journey is predicated of any one, we are not to understand merely that the person travelled for a day, or for so many hours thereof. 'Day's journey' is no mere indication of time, but a real though very indefinite measure of space." Now so far as the idiomatic phrase יוֹם דֶּרֶךְ is concerned (which occurs altogether eight times in the Old Testament) there can be no doubt that this statement is in the main correct, though I would venture to suggest that such instances as Numbers xi. 31 and Deuteronomy i. 2 (neither of which Dr. Grieve mentions) imply a distance which was really *definite*, and familiarly known as such by the sacred writer and his contemporaries, though the absolute distance would vary more or less at different periods of the Bible history. The late Prof. Lumby has shown how the analogous expression σαββάτου ὁδός (Acts i. 12) had in our Lord's time, by an interesting series of Rabbinic comparisons, become definitely fixed as a distance of 2,000 cubits. (See *Camb. Greek Test.* in loc.)

But the exact expression used by the writer of Jonah, both in iii. 3 and the verse following, is very different. It is יוֹם כְּהַלֵּךְ, a phrase which is not found elsewhere in Scripture (its occurrence in Acts i. 12 of the Hebrew New Testament offering manifestly no criterion, as the Syriac reads there ܐܝܟ ܫܒܥܐ ܐܣܛܕܝܘܢ—"about seven stadia"). The general custom of regarding these two Hebrew terms as synonymous, always a risky practice in exegesis, has led,

in the case of Jonah iii. 4, to considerable confusion. As Dr. T. T. Perowne says, "Some have supposed that as a day's journey would suffice to traverse from one side to the other a city of which the dimensions were such as have been assigned (in the verse immediately preceding), and as, moreover, Jonah is found afterwards (in iv. 5) on the east side of Nineveh, *i.e.* the opposite side to that on which he would have entered it in coming from Palestine, we are intended here to understand that he walked quite through the city in a single day, uttering continually as he went 'his one deep cry of woe.'" It will be remembered that Diodorus gives the diameter of Nineveh as 150 stadia (Diod. ii. 3), just the distance which Herodotus calls "a day's journey" (Herod. v. 53). Accordingly Dr. Pusey maintains that Jonah walked straight through it—"from end to end"—in that one day. Buchanan Blake's popular reading, founded on the same supposition, is still more questionable: "When Jonah had gone a day's journey in the city he cried," etc. (*How to Read the Prophets.*) For, as Keil shows, there seems no valid reason why he should go "a day's journey" (in the linear sense expressed by דֶּרֶךְ יוֹם), after entering the city, before delivering his message; in fact, if Pusey's view were correct, the prophet would by that time have arrived at, or near to, the opposite wall of the city, there apparently to commence his denunciation at sunset (Kleinert).

It must, however, be remembered, if we would rightly understand this verse, that the numeral אֶחָד is emphatic, whether we regard it as a cardinal or, preferably, as an ordinal. This is a point which even the Revisers seem unfortunately to have lost sight of. Maurer, observing it, has suggested a far more commendable interpretation, viz.: "He began to *perambulate* the city, going hither and thither as far as was possible, in the first day." In this he is following the example of the LXX., which, in place of

the usual technical phrase ἡμέρας ὁδός (the equivalent of Hebrew דֶּרֶךְ יוֹם) employs here quite consistently the expression ὡσεὶ πορείας ἡμέρας μιᾶς. Similarly the Vulgate has "itinere diei unius," a very different expression to the "viam unius diei" of 3 Reg. xix. 4 (cf. Exod. iii. 18; v. 3), this latter being the "iter unius diei" of Cicero and other classical authors.

We thus see that the idea involved is not in the least concerned with the actual distance covered by the prophet (whose object of course was preaching, not travelling), but with the fact that on his arrival he straightway (Calvin) proceeded to utter his cry through street after street *on that one day*, with the wonderful result which is forthwith chronicled in the succeeding verses of the chapter. Dr. Pusey may, or may not, be right in entirely restricting the preaching to that single day. Certainly the exact words which Jonah used are applicable to that particular day only, for only on that day was the respite one of *forty* days. He may, or may not, be correct in also confining the prophet's utterance (on that day) to the incessant repetition of the few startling words—עוֹד אַרְבָּעִים יוֹם וְנִינְוֵה נֶהְפָּכֶת. On the one hand, as he remarks, "simplicity is always impressive." But on the other hand, it has been forcibly pointed out, "the repentance of Nineveh is one of the most singular events in history; a great and proud city suddenly smitten into the most profound humiliation, from the greatest of its inhabitants unto the least of them, is a spectacle to which history affords no parallel" (Rev. H. Martin on *Jonah*, p. 333). And such a unique repentance may well have been (to some extent at all events) influenced by their learning on subsequent days the miraculous details of the personal history of their strange visitor. This is the view taken by Alford, Cook, Kennedy, and other well-known commentators.

The point, however, still remains, that the main result is

attributed by the sacred author himself to the startling proclamation made *on that one day*, delivered abruptly as he wandered through the crowded streets and market-places of the city (Theodoret); the special phrase מַהֲלַךְ יוֹם אֶחָד being thus seen to be absolutely unconnected with the idea of miles and yards involved in the other Hebraism.

Turning now to verse 3, we have the statement—עִיר־גְּדוֹלָה לֵאלֹהִים מַהֲלַךְ שְׁלֹשֶׁת יָמִים, which by Hitzig and Kalisch has been held to refer to the diameter, and to imply that Nineveh had a main street 55 miles long! Perowne, Payne-Smith and others have regarded it as the circumferential distance, in this following Cyril Alex., who says: *εἰς τοῦτο μεγέθους ἐκτεινομένην ὡς δεῖσθαι πορείας ἡμερῶν τριῶν, εἰ τις ἕλοιτο περινοστεῖν.* Though this was true at the time when probably the Book of Jonah was written (if, as Schrader says, we include within the circuit of Nineveh not only Kouyunjik, but also Nimroud and Khorsabad) it certainly could not have been true of the city in Jonah's day, as it only attained its magnificent proportions under Sargon a hundred years afterwards. It is just as certain, moreover, that the Assyrians themselves had no idiom which represents "a day's journey," nor in fact any time measurement of distance. Lange, ignoring the idiomatic usage, suggests that מַהֲלַךְ may mean the actual roadway which united together the market places of the different individual cities forming the great aggregate of Nineveh, and which it would be necessary to travel over in order to go entirely through the city. In support of this view he quotes Ezekiel xlii. 4, but overlooks the fact that while דֶּרֶךְ is used in that very verse in the sense he speaks of, the force of מַהֲלַךְ must be ascertained by a comparison with Nehemiah ii. 6, the only other instance where the word occurs. That comparison shows conclusively that the word has nothing to do with distance, but solely with time,

and the statement in Jonah iii. 3 refers to the time it would take to walk about and visit the chief parts of the city (Schrader), which, like the modern Constantinople, was made up of distinct quarters or towns. Probably the best English rendering would be "a city of three days' going about," a rendering which of course lends no support to Dr. Grieve's otherwise estimable article on דֶּרֶךְ יוֹם.

In conclusion two other points should just be noticed in regard to Dr. Grieve's argument: (1) that Deuteronomy i. 2 fixes the definition of דֶּרֶךְ יוֹם (at that time) at fifteen miles, roughly speaking, the distance there referred to being about 165 miles; and (2) that it is somewhat unfortunate that the term *ἡμέρας ὁδός* has been loosely used in S. Luke ii. 44, since there, too, the idea involved is not that of the LXX. usage, but simply that not until the evening encampment was reached was the absence of the Divine Youth seriously noticed. Farrar, in fact, mentions a tradition that this first halting-place was El Bireh (בְּאֵרוֹת of Josh. xviii. 25), which was only *six* miles from Jerusalem, and certainly not a דֶּרֶךְ יוֹם. The Syriac reads ܗܠܟ ܝܘܡ in S. Luke the same as in Jonah.

WALTER W. CRUMP.

JOSEPH: AN ETHICAL AND BIBLICAL STUDY.

VI.

"The Prisoner in the Palace."

(Gen. xli. 1–37.)

There are many verses in the Book of Psalms which are dark and disquieting because of their pointed and abhorrent reference to lying lips and deceitful tongues. When we read them, we feel as if there was nothing in either our own experience, or in that of which we are told in the lives of most of the Old Testament saints, to justify or explain that frequent and intense allusion. In the life of David there were circumstances which treachery shaped of which there may be a reminiscence in some of the psalms, but we cannot account in this way for the quivering expression of that keen, personal feeling of which we are now speaking. Perhaps in this account of the lie that wronged Joseph the key is struck which is resonant in those excoriating passages which ruffle the soul when we listen to them. For it is not difficult to realize that this life of Joseph would, during the formative period of Hebrew history, seem much larger and more distinct than afterwards, and than it seems to us when we survey the Bible as a whole. A peak which on a wide view is only one feature on the horizon may dominate a valley which lies near it and cast its shadow on every homestead there. To those who now see the sweep and lie of all Scripture, one other Life there, the contour of which suggests (if we may so say) the same formation, stands so prominent that this one is of quite dwarfed importance in comparison; yet, in the nearer vicinity of it, many generations must have seen the life of Joseph in large proportions, and some of its own features must have often fascinated the moral eye of men into surprise and awe. Till human lips betrayed the Christ

of God, they had done no work more cruel than that of dishonouring Joseph and dooming him to his cell; and the memory of that might well send a shudder into Hebrew song whenever its singers had aught to say about lips of lies.

While in Genesis we see men literally taking in territory as they spread abroad and occupy a new world, we see them at the same time, in another sense, taking possession of what God had assigned them. The house of life has many rooms, and one after another its doors had to be opened by human hands and all its chambers peopled. Joseph had pioneer work to do along the untrodden halls of that mazy house, and he had to open and prove and bring back his report of the large room which God had appointed for His prisoners of hope. Prophets and Apostles and martyrs and exiled confessors have filled that room since, but Joseph was the first to know its doleful walls. To a nature like his, full of energy and ambition, those years in the dark there were the hardest of his whole life. Give him a difficulty, and he will master it; give him even a sore temptation, and he will fight it, and be a better man after it; but in solitude and silence will his soul not prey upon itself and enervate? In enforced idleness will his activities not rust? Joseph came forth of that room, and his word was that on even its bare floor God can set a table spread with food convenient for the human soul. He *gave* that word; and great has been the company of those who have published it since.

"It came to pass at the end of two full years, that Pharaoh dreamed." Joseph no doubt thought that the clock went slow. "Two full years"! There is the pressure of a gentle emphasis laid on the words; they were years and more; they held more than their capacity; they were years of God which contain "a time, times and a half." Set for any purpose, or judged by any standard,

"two full years" was long to wait until the night came that brought a restless king two dreams. We say again, and we cannot say it once too often, that Joseph is a soldier of the grandest type in life's wide battlefield, where Eternity gives the orders. He was told off to the loneliest outpost of duty in all the field, where he had to stand and simply look out into the dark; but his Captain said so, and he neither quarrels with nor questions his necessity. Though he has not a sign of how the battle is going around or behind, he stands there all the time in lonely touch with duty; and his whole manhood is knit and set to that one task until God's word relaxes and releases his soul.

This power to obey God in patience is vitally connected with his power to obey his own best nature; yet, after all, who of us can draw these fine distinctions, and determine the boundaries after this fashion, when a nature like Joseph's is before us? His consciousness of self seemed lost in his consciousness of God; his doing of God's will seemed instinctive and effortless, like the drawing of his breath and the beating of his heart; he seems to have been oblivious of himself in the simplicity of his purpose to serve. Something of a child-like, pristine relationship to God seems to have been Joseph's; and he probably had neither a theory of life nor a theology, but only and always felt as if he heard a Father-God calling him by name. At the same time that still perseverance through two years' solitude is an evidence of his perfect rectitude. It was not the sloth of a phlegmatic soul that saved him there; it was mettle of fine spiritual breeding, under the finest control, which kept him alert and ready every hour of those dreary years. There was the outward grace of a delicate, susceptible soul, unspotted and unsoiled, as he trod to and fro his few steps of stone day after day; but there was the valour of a splendid strength as well. His trenchant decision in

Potiphar's house, which had sent him to that exile, qualified him to be there. Had there been moral lesion in his life, or disruption of spiritual fibre in his nature, the strain of that solitude would have disintegrated and made havoc of his powers. Solitude searches and sifts a man. If he has once yielded himself to the mesmerism of sin, he will see its glittering eye when he is alone with himself and yield again to its fascination—sin thus teasing the soul and mocking its eye with air! If his memory be full of old, unhappy things, conscience will only the more stir these up in solitude, and carry them round in helpless eddy. For sin becomes a fatal emotion when it cannot get outlet as a motive, and it then decomposes the soul. But, of this knight of God in his dungeon, it would be only increasingly true all through his years of solitude,—

> My strength is as the strength of ten,
> Because my heart is pure.

At last Pharaoh dreamed. He slept and dreamed and awoke; he turned in his bed and slept again, and he dreamed the second time. The dream might have passed unheeded—a breath from nowhere quivering for a moment across the stilled consciousness of the king; but there was a current with it and a pressure behind it, for "the dream was doubled twice" unto him. The dreamer detected the divine in his dreams. They were not as other dreams, in which some broken fragment of the past merely slips from its place, and adjusts itself, and then settles again—making memory tremble for a moment; they had a reference to one another, and a relation to higher things, the second saying something about the first, and both together confusing the king with their one tale of mystery. There was motive in some higher zone of life, of which these visions were the curious foreword; and that was now making itself felt in premonition, which was soon to sweep along at the earth-

level with the force of storm and change. It was a breath-whisper of what was coming, and Pharaoh was troubled in his palace; but had Joseph no visitant in his cell that night when God's angels were down dispensing dreams? If they left the mystery at the palace, they left the meaning in the gaol; and the night must have brought to Joseph what felt like a comforting. The breath of God abroad that night in Egypt must have made a music in the sail and stays of his life that had ridden so long at gloomy anchorage. For the powers were soon to have play that would carry him from the cell to the palace. Behind those airy tokens of change were the hosts of God, and they were ministering spirits whom He was sending forth to minister to an heir of His own salvation.

The elements of the dreams were Egyptian. The daily observation of the king supplied the materials out of which, from amidst the mists of sleep, the dreams shaped themselves and troubled him. Sleep, the enchanter, took his imagery from the waking hours and touched it to finer service. Pharaoh stood by the river, and from far away across the flood there came the kine that swam to the shore, and, sleek and fat-fleshed, they fed along the meadow by the waterside; and, also from beyond the Nile, there followed the lean and ragged cattle that would not fatten. The king, of course, was only dreaming; he turned in his sleep, and slept again. But another dream was awaiting him; and in the east wind and the west wind his spirit was wandering in the fields of corn, and before him the blasted cornstalk prevailed against all the promise of Egyptian harvests. Dreams they might be, the shut eye retaining a few vagabond visions of the day that danced awhile with idle fancies athwart his brain; and he only needed to open his eyes and waken them away; but it came to pass in the morning that he was troubled. In a higher and wider sense these things are true, for they are a parable.

It is out of the realities of our everyday life here that we make the scenery of dreams. But "our little life is rounded with a sleep." And when the eyes have been shut to a longer sleep, the scenes of here and its long ago will work themselves into still stranger results in the soul. The past and present are making our future for us. And if that daybreak drew a strange music from Memnon's statue by the river there, and wakened still stranger voices in the heart of Pharaoh, may not the morning after the graves are wakened leave many a spirit troubled?

Pharaoh was soon in touch with "the magicians of Egypt and all the wise men thereof." Every man gets superstitious at a time. A large area of human nature is reserved for the supernatural. There are chords in every soul which the man himself can neither tune nor silence, and invisible fingers touch their keys. Our science, which looks so wise and grave on this side of our age, is mocked from the other by a spiritualism and a theosophy which are silly compared with the fine fairy lore, and even the stern witchcraft, of our forefathers. The times go by extremes, and so do individuals. One of the larger scientific figures in our century was known to shuffle in haste from his laboratory when he had turned out its lights, afraid of the supernatural as he sought his room in the dark. You may make havoc of any man's brain, you may upset his reason, if you play long enough on his hopes and his fears out of the unseen and from the far away; so large an element in our being is that which is susceptible to the supernatural. Not more faithfully does the round earth turn to light and to dark than the soul of man alternately to fear and hope of he knows not well what in his unrealized future. Every one of us has at times a troubled soul, and every man who has not the Christ has his witch of Endor that he seeks to then, or he has his magicians and wise men to whom he tells his dreams. No man gets quit of the supernatural by rejecting

the Bible; it is only the Bible and its Christ that interpret the supernatural, that give it its reasonable place in the rooms of human life, that keep men from being under the bondage of superstitious fear.

Thus it was in Egypt long ago. The Nile had been having its rise and fall, each at its season, as it was wont; and the land was grey and green in what seemed its eternal course. The sun, that morning, had risen on the land as usual, and the workers were out in the fields everywhere. But during the night God had put His finger upon the affairs of the land, and the whole history of it would take a new turn. There is a troubled king in its palace, and he can get no help from the magicians, nor has he wisdom from the wise men. He has received missives from a far-away court that he cannot decipher and that he dares not destroy, and on his throne he trembles. The sceptre has departed from Pharaoh's hands, and two short-lived visions of last night's sleep are on the throne of Egypt to-day. In these two dreams that glided into the royal bed-chamber, while Egypt slept there was futurity enough. God means henceforth to interfere with the Pharaohs, and if they be wise, they will not fight with God.

The light of Egypt was buried in a dungeon below, while the weird magicians and wise men stood dumb in the palace halls. It was Joseph's time at last. The deliverer is to be born now out of long travail; for the number of God's months is counted. God's clock which had moved so slow, ticking the moments one by one in the dark, has moved on; and the fulness of the time is come. How well it was that the butler did not tell earlier! Joseph might have been out of the cells too soon! He remembers and tells now, and Pharaoh strains his ears to hear. "A young man, an Hebrew," has the golden key, and will now open the future of Egypt and the world. "Then Pharaoh sent and called Joseph, and they brought him hastily out of the

dungeon." Deliverance broke upon him in a moment. It was hot and breathless work, as if prophetic of coming emancipations, when, hardly having time to rectify the disorder of years on face and vesture, he was hurried before the king. How fluttered and anxious he must have been at the first word of it all when such a summons came! How hard it must have been for the prisoner, hastily got ready, to be calm and self-possessed as he made for the palace! How strange the light on the pale, wronged face, lined with melancholy resignation! What an ordeal for the youth! Yet who, knowing his character, will doubt that he was master of himself and the situation, and walked upright—physically, mentally, morally upright—"all together" and ready? And how he must have struck the king's gaze with his eye the moment he looked up to interpret, and held the monarch enchanted and spellbound. They did not make a lackey of him by making him a servant, nor a libertine by giving him gawdy temptations, and they will not make a coward of him by setting him before a king. The two of them were soon at work over the mysteries of the night—he on the throne with his tale, and Joseph with his interpretation. Joseph arranged matters at the outset, giving the king his place and taking up his own. The king was there and God was yonder, and Joseph was between; he was bold and drew steady breath, and soon, not arrogantly, and in plain words, the counsel of God that had glittered in the darkness was read out in the silence. "The dream of Pharaoh is one; God hath showed Pharaoh what He is about to do."

What a tale it was for Joseph to tell and Pharaoh to hear! Yet every word seemed to carry its own evidence. Soul was flashing to soul with every syllable. It was the truth, because it was the thought of God which was being deciphered. The king felt that it was being read aright in every sentence and to every detail; it came to him like a

forgotten word or the note of an old tune that he had heard before and forgotten. It brought its own self-evidencing testimony; something far in the subconsciousness of his soul answered all along, "Yes, that is it! that is what I wanted and could not get! that is God's meaning!" It was not a pleasant story to tell a capricious king, but with what emphasis of confidence Joseph went through it to the last letter! He never hesitated, never faltered; he knew what he would say, and he dared to say it all. He might have trimmed and sailed cautiously where there might be dangerous currents which a king's instantaneous passion might have stirred; but he went by the fixed stars, he feared nothing, he knew he had the truth and could shake the throne therewith. He soon outran interpretation and became a counsellor. He told Pharaoh what to do, grasping the situation and solving the problem of years in a moment. "Now, therefore, let Pharaoh look out a man discreet and wise, and set him over the land of Egypt." Here again is the genius of the man. The interpretation was from God; but in the consciousness of his own power and with the spontaneity of an instinct he sees the one thing to be done and indicates it. He knew he was right, though he knew not why; and king and court bowed to his wisdom. The prisoner taught the senators; Joseph became the statesman within an hour. A few fast steps have taken Joseph up to the proudest post that the world of his day had to give. Such is the play and power of genius. It darts and flashes to its conclusions, but you may verify the whole path that it has taken by the slowest steps of reasoning afterwards, and find that it is as swift and true as a glance of the Divine thought.

Again we find the lessons in human life which this glowing narrative gives laid out at two different levels. The Divine Spirit here and thus prescribes our conduct and duty on a double plane—a primary and a secondary, a

higher and a lower; and obedience on both is needed if a life is to be saved in and by the fulfilling of itself. There is a virtue in an example of manhood so robust and yet so winsome as that of Joseph, which the Bible here consecrates to the service of all of us as we live our daily life at common tasks; and there are at the same time manifest tokens of the Life that hath immortality in it. We dare not draw a line and say, when our God-given nature is involved, where the human ends and the Divine begins, and assign different values to duties which God has prescribed as if we might trifle with the life that now is and attend to some higher life to come. Joseph's life is written in Scripture for *correction* as much as for instruction in righteousness; and one of its lessons is that in every room and at every task we must be faithful in God's house of life.

It is as much a man's duty to equip himself for his threescore years and ten of life here as to prepare for his eternity in the hereafter. A monk or hermit, who knows not the world and hides himself out of it ere God calls him away from it, is not doing his duty; he is making himself a cipher when he ought to be a figure of power, a factor in the working out of the long results of time. Nor are the simple, easy-going men, to whom one man is as good as another and one way as good as any of the rest, if only they are allowed amiably and peaceably to saunter along life's paths, ever to be taken as models. The Joseph, the Moses, the David know men and know the world; they are simple as children towards God and the unseen, and harmless as doves when an hour of rest and love comes and when life may retire awhile within some leafy shade at summer noon. But they are wise as serpents towards men and the world, and they are valiant and daring when there is need for decision and when the difference between right and wrong must be kept. They equip themselves with

worldly powers for worldly work. They are wise men and keep their eyes in their head.

Every man should get well acquainted with the work that is to be done during his own day in the world, and also with his own powers. He should master the circumstances and understand the spirit of the age he lives in. He may be at once convinced and go on the understanding that this is not an age when he will get on by dreaming or by interpreting dreams. He must take things to a certain extent as they are and estimate what needs to be done for the best. He must find out his own distinctive power, and do with that what he can do, and never waste it in putting it to the impossible. He must steer between over-estimating and undervaluing his powers; between the weakness of conceit and that of undue humility. Each man must conscientiously study and know himself, confronting the realities of the present day with his own capabilities, so that he may know when to speak and when to be silent, when to act and when to hold back. To his own measure he must imitate Joseph, who knew himself and who could submit in the prison, but could not help commanding in the palace.

There is a great deal possible to the man who has himself always in hand. In the stormy periods of Border story the Branxholme knights ate and drank and slept in armour, and with gloved hands had their battle axe always within grasp. So, in a world like ours, men must be ready for emergencies. While a man is gathering his wits, he may lose a dozen of his best chances; while he is slowly drawing himself together, another has stepped in before him. Let every one study self-control; let him have his powers at his command; let him watch and wait, ready-dight! Joseph was always ready, calm and waiting for his opportunity; and no sudden alarm ever took him unguarded and unawares, nor did any sudden opportunity come and go

because he was asleep. Whatever was to be done, he instantly brought all his forces to bear on it, and it was done with the concentration of his whole energy. He did one thing at a time—only and always one thing—and he did it well. Was it resisting temptation? he did it with his whole and undivided nature; and having struck once vigorously enough, he needed to strike no more, and sheered off from his tempter victorious. Was it keeping a prison? he threw himself wholly into the distasteful task and made virtue out of the necessity. Was it counselling a king? he did it with the composure of an undisturbed earnestness. He was always in readiness and had all his reserves in waiting, resting in the preparedness of a great strength, and he never needed to make haste. This splendid equipoise and balance of powers, which has condensed into it so many forces and which contains so many possibilities, involves at least two cardinal points to which a man is true: he must reverence God and he must reverence the body which God has given him.

On another and higher level Joseph was simple and ingenuous as a child. He kept his own ideals fresh amidst all their exposure to frost and wrong. His dreams seemed to have mocked his own eyes with their nothingness; but when either prisoner or king dreams, he reverently accepts the omen when it is of God, and rises to read with the sincerity of one who hears and loves a Father's words. His long waiting for God was done patiently, and the element of patience not only pleased God but made endurable what the least grain of fret would have made impossible. Thus the Bible not only gives us plain lessons for life's ordinary levels, but thus early was instructing men in an example, presented with vivid dramatic power of life in its highest references and relations. This life, in its intenser and lonelier passages, so gentle and patient and true, yet so harassed and wronged, was but a gentle open-

ing of the eyelids of the world to see long afterwards the life of a more innocent Sufferer more terribly wronged. It was but one curl of a wave when a great tide was setting in, which was to rise higher and higher until, borne on its full waters, the life of sorrow was seen to be in this world divine; for, on the principle of making humanity perfect through suffering, God has governed the world from the beginning and will govern it to the end. And this principle we have here exemplified in an early instance; we have it illustrated unforgetably in a narrative glowing with poetic art and swift with action. What could the world have made of Christ's life? Who could have believed that it could have been attended with Divine favour and love, if it all at once had been flashed upon human sight? It would only have blinded; it could not have revealed. But in previous lives, on which in this Book the Divine approval was set, men were gently prepared for the discipline of sorrow which makes life pure, and for the Captain of Salvation being made perfect through suffering.

ARMSTRONG BLACK.

LINES OF DEFENCE OF THE BIBLICAL REVELATION.

V. The Bible of the Jews.

If any one glances over a copy of the Rabbinic Bible, he will assuredly be struck by the care and trouble which the Jews have devoted to their Sacred Books. The vocalization and intonation of each word are elaborately marked by a system which also indicates the place of each word in the sentence. At the end of the column peculiarities are noted and registered with an accuracy which should prevent the possibility of alteration or error. Side by side with the Hebrew text is a translation into Aramaic, the language spoken by the Jews when they first left off Hebrew. References are further attached to many of the texts, guiding us to the vast volumes which contain the Tradition, or Talmud, which also claims Divine authority. The works which bear that name ordinarily occupy sixteen folios. Finally the text is surrounded by a series of commentaries which embody the results of grammatical, lexicographical, and archæological studies. Compare this with what the Indians have done for their Vedas, and it will be doubtful whether the advantage rests with the Indians.

But, alas! there is a difference. The Indian can start an idea and the Jew cannot. The whole of the work at which we have glanced—points, accents, Massorah, Talmud, grammar, lexicography—is borrowed; there is scarcely a trace of originality anywhere. The Jews have in religious matters no ideas of their own. This is to our science what the Pythagorean proposition is to trigonometry, or the law of equal pressure to hydrostatics. Abandon that principle and traps of all sorts will ensnare you; keep firmly to it, and the source of every morsel of non-Biblical literature which the Jews possess will become clear.

The relation between Jews and Christians was from the first exceedingly hostile. We find in the Acts of the Apostles that the work of the Christian missionaries is definitely opposed by the Jews in the different towns whither the Apostles travel. Until the fall of Jerusalem the Jews had it in their power to persecute, and they exercised that power with cruelty.[1] The fall of Jerusalem limited that power, but it did not limit their hatred. For the fall of Jerusalem had been foretold by Christ, and that prophecy was preserved in a document composed in the Hebrew of the time. The realization of the prophecy may have caused some conversions, but in most cases it would excite only greater animosity.

When Constantine made Christianity the state religion, the Christians had it in *their* power to persecute,[2] and probably sporadic cases of persecution of Jews by Christians had occurred before. From the time of the conversion of the Empire this persecution increased in fierceness, and this insane policy laid the seeds of greater disasters than its authors deemed possible. Races of the stuff of the Anglo-Saxons would, under this persecution, have migrated to new lands and founded new nations. The Jews have no such enterprise, and so they wait.

Certain Jewish families had fled from persecution to free Arabia,[3] where their descendants adopted the language and the manners of the Arabs. The poems of Samuel of Tayma are incorporated in the ballad book of the Arabs,[4] and in martial spirit they are second to none in the collection. Not one of his tribe, the author boasts, ever dies in his bed. When taunted with the paucity of its numbers, it replies that the great are few. The death of a chief, however,

[1] Justin, *Dialogue*, § 17.

[2] Bedjan's *Acta Martyrum*, i. 335.

[3] Compare the Armenian historian, Kyrakus (Venice, 1865), p. 33. The *Aghani*, xvi. 94–96, has only fables.

[4] *Hamasah*, ed. Freytag, p. 49.

leaves another ready to speak the language and do the deeds of the brave.

Mohammed, when starting his calamitous career, was brought into contact with these Arabized Jews, and found them dangerous enemies. He took in many a Christian, and at an early part of his career obtained refuge for his followers in Abyssinia; but he never took in the Jews. Had the Jewish tribes been united, they might have crushed him ere he became powerful; but the Jews invariably divide when outside pressure is relaxed, and Mohammed cut them off in detail. His earliest efforts were thus helped by Christians and impeded by Jews, whence the Koran is favourable to the former and hostile to the latter. But when Islam became a mighty empire, things changed. The Jews were a force which could not hinder Islam, but which had power to help it; whereas the *jihad* was now directed against a powerful Christian state, which was fast becoming aware of its danger. And now, for the persecutors of the Jews too, the day of reckoning had come. Plato well warns the states against being double, *i.e.* against harbouring a class who have an interest in the state being upset; and such an interest any class that is systematically oppressed must have. The Arabian hordes, after defeating the incompetent Christian generals in the field, proceeded to besiege the towns; there were Jews in those towns, and they opened the gates. Thus was the conquest of Asia Minor[1] and of Spain[2] facilitated. The Jews had taken advantage of the opportunity of making friends with the new power, and the benefit which they had conferred was not forgotten. The terms which Islam granted the Jews were far better than those which they got from Christianity till long after the Reformation. Isolated rulers like the insane Al-Hakim ill-used them terribly;[3] but under ordinary

[1] Dionysius of Tell Mahré, ed. Chabot, p. 27, 3.
[2] Makkari, i. 166, 7, etc. [3] Ibn Iyās (Cairo, 1311 A.H.), i. 52.

governors they enjoyed very tolerable privileges, and on many of them posts of importance and distinction were conferred.

To some unknown Jew Mohammed owed his notion of a Divine revelation, and not a little of the matter of his Koran. The form of it he owed to the old Arabian Prophets, and this combination produced a new idea. This was that the inspiration of a book consisted in its sound. For the quasi-rhyme is characteristic of the Koran, and this cannot be reproduced in another language. Whereas, then, it had long been the custom of Christians to translate their sacred books into the vernaculars of the countries where they proselytized, this could not be done with the Bible of the new religion. Instead of accommodating itself to other nations, other nations had to accommodate themselves to it. Syria, Egypt, North Africa, Spain, Persia, Central Asia, were perforce Arabized.

If the inspiration of a book consist in its sound, some obvious inferences follow. It should be communicated orally, and there should be no variations. In practice these two inferences are hard to combine. The first Caliph wished to combine them, but he had to give way; he allowed the Koran to be compiled. The second inference was drawn by the third Caliph Othman; he caused an official edition to be issued, and had all unofficial copies destroyed. This service cost him his life.

To those whose native language is not Arabic acquaintance with the alphabet is of very moderate help in reading texts. The old Kufi character is puzzling even to experts; the foreigners who had now to use the Koran for devotional purposes could either make nothing of it, or, by mispronouncing it, rendered the inspired word of none effect. The fourth Caliph, Ali, introduced some vowel signs to help the Persians, and possibly thereby won their undying attachment; at least it is difficult to conjecture any other

grounds for it. The whole of the system as developed is of native growth, save one suggestion which may have come from Syrian Christians,[1] there is nothing in it which is not derived from the Arabic alphabet.

Although the art of writing is said to have been encouraged by Mohammed, the use of it appears to have been confined to the Koran, and ephemeral communications such as letters, for rather more than a century after the Flight. Good authorities inform us that the first book composed in Arabic after the Koran was of the year 120 A.H., or later.[2] Even till late times the Arabic idea of a book was something like "a memoria technica, to be supplemented by oral tradition" rather than a subject for independent study. Everything seems to confirm the statement that has been quoted; and where we meet with conflicting assertions, *e g.*, that a scholar who died in 124 A.H. used to spend the whole day with his *books*,[3] we must regard them as anachronisms, or possibly explain them of ephemeral documents, such as the second Caliph is reported to have composed.[4] The Jews in the Koran are called the people of the Book, and the idea that a nation should possess only one book probably came from them. If there were other books in Arabic besides the Koran, the Koran would be less holy than the Jewish Bible, for the Jews had no other book. The anecdote which connects the burning of the Alexandrian library with the Caliph Omar may be insufficiently attested, but it does him no injustice. Sprenger accepts a story that the dying Prophet wished to compose a code, but was forbidden by Omar on this ground. At the battle between Ali and Mu'awiyah, the followers of the latter were told to attach their Korans to their lances, and

[1] *i.e.* the place of the vowel *fathah*.
[2] Ghazzali's *Ihyā* (Cairo, 1306 A.H.), i. 65.
[3] Ibn Khallikan, i. 572.
[4] *Muwatta*, ed. Zurkani (Cairo, 1279 A.H.), ii. 375.

hold them up. There being no other books in existence, Ali's followers immediately recognised them. Thus for the 120 years mentioned there was only one Arabic book. All else was transmitted orally.

The needs of a great empire presently proved too much for Omar's theory. Government is possible only where there are rules, and these must be the outcome of experience. The Prophet's practice was naturally taken as the norm of legislation and administration; where that failed, the practice of his successors. The first person who broke the ice is said to have been a certain Ibn Juraij,[1] who compiled a book of Tradition, consisting partly of interpretation of the Koran. Presently authors began to multiply; and while the field of Tradition and Law was naturally the most cultivated, other studies also began to find adherents.

For the language of the Koran was becoming antiquated, and that of the Moslems changing. Presently steps were taken to record the intonation authorized by famous readers, and to note down minute varieties of pronunciation. Those who had anecdotes to tell of the occasions on which certain texts had been "revealed," were not slow to make capital out of them. Hence that small volume, the Koran, by the year 200 of the Hijrah, has become the nucleus of a vast literature, which is constantly on the increase.

When once the idea that the Koran was the only book that might be written had been banished, attempts were made to collect and save every relic of Arabic antiquity. Grammars and dictionaries were compiled, the information being ordinarily derived from Bedouin chiefs, who were supposed to know. Tribal lays were collected and edited; chairs of archæology were founded, at any rate temporarily; and long journeys were undertaken by those who wished to acquire as full a knowledge as possible of the intricacies of

[1] Ghazzali, l.c.

the Arabic language, and of the history which explained the allusions in the old lays and proverbs.

And now let us return to the Jews, enjoying reasonable protection under the ægis of the Caliphate, and in many places privileged above other followers of sacred books owing to the service they had rendered in securing the conquest of Islam.

There were two callings especially which brought them into contact with Christians and Mohammedans. One of these was the wine trade. Although the drinking of wine was forbidden by Mohammed, for many centuries drunkenness was rather encouraged at the Caliph's court. Not only were many famous poets notorious winebibbers, but the praise of wine became one of the recognised subjects of versification. The keepers of places of entertainment of this sort were either Jews or Christians. Abu Nuwas,[1] the chief of the Arabic encomiasts of wine, tells us how he and his companions went into one of these shops.[2] The *zunnar*, or girdle, told them that the keeper was not a Moslem; "so we thought better of him than he deserved. 'You are a follower of Jesus son of Mary, we presume?' He flushed up, and said, No! He was a Jew, one of those who profess to be your friends, while inwardly they detest you. We asked him his name. 'Samuel,' he replied; 'but I call myself Abu Amr; I have no son named Amr, but the name is an easy one to pronounce.'" Ibrahim of Mausil[3] related how, when summoned to Rakkah by Harun al-Rashid, he fell in with a Christian wine dealer, the excellence of whose wine caused him to delay three days at the tavern. The excuse which he gave for his delay thoroughly satisfied the Caliph, who himself summoned the wine dealer, and, after confirming Ibrahim's judgment of his wine, rewarded him richly. These taverns,

[1] Ob. 810 A.D. [2] *Divan* (Cairo, 1898 A.D.), p. 273.
[3] *Aghani*, v. 12. He died in 828 A.D.

then, were places where Jews, Christians, and Mohammedans met in a friendly manner; and though the meetings sometimes resulted in brutal outrages,[1] it is probable that they often went off harmlessly, and did something to allay the bitterness of fanaticism.

A far more honourable calling which served to conciliate the members of the three religions was that of medicine. The fact of a physician being a foreigner seems often to win him confidence; and during the Caliphate the practising physicians seem regularly to have been Jews or Christians.[2] Nothing was known of the science of medicine beyond what Hippocrates and the Greek school had discovered; their works were translated by Christians[3] into Syriac and Arabic, and perhaps, at an earlier period, into Pehlevi; men of science like Avicenna here and there added an original observation, but this was rare. The great physicians appear to have admitted members of all recognised religions to their courses; and those who compiled medical biographies narrate the lives of the physicians irrespective of their religion. The social intercourse established at these classes led to free discussion of religious topics. A great Christian doctor,[4] being ridiculed for taking part in the ritual of a Christian Church, waited till some of his pupils had returned from the pilgrimage at Meccah, to ridicule them in turn on the subject of their antics there. Owing to the study of medicine being part of a cyclopædic curriculum, the teaching of it was often associated with the higher education, which included the sciences whence the material for religious metaphysics was drawn. Hence we find a science of comparative religion figuring among those pursued by the Mohammedans. The actual practice, however, as has already been said, appears to have been left

[1] *Aghani*, passim.
[2] Zamakhshari on Sura iii. 137. Ibn Abi Usaibi'ah, *passim*.
[3] Rarely by Jews. [4] Ibn Abi Usaibi'ah, i. 240.

mainly to Jews and Christians. In the anecdotes of the third Mohammedan century the Jewish doctors speak Persian.[1] By the fourth century they have taken to writing Arabic. As in several other departments of Jewish literature, the most celebrated medical treatises are by Moses Maimonides, contemporary and physician of Saladdin; but it is unlikely that they are the best.

We have now to figure the Jews, possessed of their unpointed Bible and no other Hebrew literature,[2] brought into contact on friendly terms with Mohammedans, when the attention of the literary world is being attracted by the collections of Traditions, the grammatical treatises, the dictionaries, and collections of poetry and archæology which mark the second century of Islam. It is not difficult to reproduce in thought some of the scenes.

A Jewish physician finds a patient engaged in solacing himself with his Koran, and foregoes his fee on condition of being initiated in the mysteries of that volume. He observes that the pronunciation of the words is secured by vowel signs and other marks, and learns that great importance is attached to the style of reading authorized by certain scholars at the capitals. An idea enters his mind that at least as much might be done by the Jews for their Bible, and that it would be wise to record the proper pronunciation of the words before it has more seriously degenerated.[3] The wisdom of this suggestion meets with the approval of those to whom he dares to communicate it.[4]

[1] *Aghani*, passim.

[2] δευτέρωσις in Epiphanius, Jerome, etc., is a mistranslation of *Mishnah*, which means "Oral Tradition." That they were not written appears from Epiphanius. The correct translation is ἄγραφος παράδοσις. A line of Shammakh (contemporary of Omar I.) is quoted in *Lisan al-Arab*, ix. 46, about the way in which the Jewish doctors at Tayma write Hebrew, but it seems to refer to the writing of charms.

[3] Jerome's teacher mispronounced badly.

[4] That the Jews consciously imitated Mohammedan practices is acknowledged by Maimonides, *Letters* (Amst., 472), p. 18*a*.

At first the method that occurs to him is to use the vowel signs invented by the Arabs; but, as it would be highly improper to place these on a copy of the sacred text, his second thought is *to take down the pronunciation of the best readers in Arabic letters.* This is no conjecture; the British Museum contains a considerable number of Karaite MSS. in which the Hebrew text is transliterated into Arabic and pointed. It is soon seen that the Arabic vowel system is insufficient to represent the variety of the Hebrew vocalization; so the physician asks one of his Christian colleagues to tell him how the Syrians deal with their Bible. He is shown a Nestorian text; and the Nestorian system will evidently serve the purpose far better than the Mohammedan. This is in effect adopted wholesale; a few traces of the Mohammedan system are left; but while in the "Assyrian" system these are still distinguishable, they are very faint in that which finally prevailed. On the other hand, there is very little that the Nestorian system does not explain at once. The differences are chiefly due to the reasonable desire to avoid the confusion caused in Syriac by the juxtaposition of several different systems of points.

The Karaites, who represent the conservative party among the Jews, adhered to the plan of employing the Arabic script for pointed texts till the end of the tenth century. The inconvenience, however, was so great that they were finally compelled to allow the points to appear on the sacred page.

The earliest Jewish writers[1] whose works we possess are well aware that the vocalization of the Old Testament is a recent achievement. That in the main it is correct need not be doubted; but the nuances and minutiæ which it displays can have no scientific value. The exact colouring

[1] So Seadyah.

of a vowel is not transmitted with accuracy for a period of 1,000 years. The stout volumes in which German writers have collected all these minutiæ would have produced a curious sensation on those readers who deliberately invented many of them in order to be able to rival the "various readings" of the Koran.

The process of recording the pronunciation of itself introduced Othman's theory of literal and consonantal inspiration. In the Talmud this theory does not ordinarily appear. On the contrary, the Rabbis correct the text with great license and with extreme infelicity. We are not entitled to regard their corrections as meant otherwise than seriously.

When the services of Mohammed to mankind are reckoned up, it will be remembered that it is due to him that the vocalization of the Hebrew Bible has been preserved.

When the vowels had been fixed, the grammarian could commence operations. Where the Arabic grammars provided guidance, the Hebrew grammarians got on tolerably well; elsewhere they blundered badly. It would seem that even the names of their books were borrowed from those of the Mohammedan doctors.

In Jewish literature of the 11th century [1] Moses is spoken of as "the Apostle" or "the Prophet," without further qualification. How comes Moses to be an Apostle, a name which belongs to the Christians? Clearly, because Mohammed is the Apostle *par excellence* to the Moslems. How then can the Jews dispense with one? The same writer proceeds to enumerate the "sources of law"; they are three: the Book, Consensus of authorities, and Analogy. A member of the rival sect would doubtless have enumerated four, giving Tradition the second place. Those who

[1] *Sefer Ha-Miswoth* (Bodleian MS.). So too R. Bachya, *Chobath ha-Lebaboth* (Warsaw, 1875), ii. 11, 150.

are acquainted with Mohammedan law are very familiar with the source of this discussion. The same four sources are enumerated by Mohammedan lawyers, only with them the question is whether Analogy counts or does not count. The whole of this doctrine of sources of law is therefore borrowed by the Jews from the Moslems. Next we observe that those who recognise Tradition as a source of law ascribe the tradition to Moses. Writers of the tenth century are aghast at the audacity of ascribing the Jewish tradition to Moses.[1] When the Jewish tradition does little else than collect the opinions of doctors who lived well within the Christian era, how can it be by Moses? To this question there is a very practical answer. The Mohammedan tradition goes back to Mohammed; the Jewish tradition cannot be less respectable in its line than the other. Since Moses is to the Jews what Mohammed is to the Moslems, the Talmud must go back to Moses. This argument carried the day.[2]

D. S. Margoliouth.

(*To be concluded.*)

[1] Salmon Ben Jerucham, in Fürst's *Litteraturblatt des Orients*, 1846.

[2] In the document printed by Gallandius, ii. 329, the Mishnah is said *not* to be by Moses. Cf. Maimonides, l.c. 19*b*.

IS THE "SONG OF SONGS" A MYSTICAL POEM?

THIS composition, described as "more celebrated and sublime than all songs" by the Rabbis, and called the "Jubilee Song of the Church" by Christian writers, is also, by the confession of the most competent judges, the most difficult of books to interpret. Of the many attempts made in this direction some are plausible and ingenious, others doubtful or altogether impossible, and a few even grotesque, whilst very few, if any, are quite satisfactory.

The allegorizers of the Synagogue, with the Targum at their head, down to the latest effusions of dreamers in the Ghetto, have seen in it a description of Israel's love for Jehovah, or the "amor intellectualis" of the soul in communion with God. The fathers of the Greek and Latin Church, from Hippolytus and Origen to Jerome and Augustine, regard it as the "Nuptial Song" which celebrates the love of Christ for His Church; some identify the Shulamite with the Blessed Virgin, and the bridegroom with God, or the Logos. Later on St. Francis and St. Bernard of Clairvaux, in his eighty-six discourses, have added their quota of more detailed or systematic interpretation on the same lines. Mediæval mysticism fixed on *Cantica Canticorum* as its favourite book, subjecting it to a minute study with a view to find in it, or find for it, those occult meanings which it most cherished. Thus the nard mentioned in the Song represents the odour of sanctity; myrrh, ascetic virtue; the cypress, reconciliation, etc.

The mystics of the Reformation, or the pre-Reformation

period, in Germany, and those of the counter reformation in Spain find in it a fertile field for their inventive genius. In the delicious mysticism of Catherine of Sienna, as in the later "ambitions epithalamiques" of Madame Guyon, who wrote a commentary on it in a surprisingly short space of time, we see the attraction it exercises on feminine devotees. For these it supplies the language to express their deepest yearnings after ecstatic union with the Divine Bridegroom.

It was left for the rationalistic spirit of the 18th century to deny all spiritual significance to the poem, to explain it, in a purely natural or literal sense, as a dramatic production, or a string of poems, a chaplet of gems of Hebrew lyrics with a moral lesson attached to it. Here it is made to celebrate the beauty of true love and the superiority of monogamic union over the licence of the seraglio.

Of late the dramatic theory has been discarded in favour of the view that Canticles consists of a collection of Hebrew amorets strung together for the purpose of using it at hymeneal feasts to celebrate the praise of matrimony.

We will endeavour briefly to examine these respective views in the present paper, viz., the dramatic, the lyrical, and the allegorical, in order to discover how far the traditional view of a mystical meaning attached to the book may be retained without rejecting the most recent results of critical analysis. This, especially with the light thrown on the subject by the latest studies of Oriental poetry, amatory and mystical, and similar productions in the erotic poetry of modern France, as one of the results of the invasion of Eastern mysticism into European literature.

I. As to the first, the dramatic view, there are objections to it of a general nature, such as the non-existence of the drama among the Hebrews, the absence of *dramatis*

personæ in the text of Canticles, and that lack of dramatic unity, uninterrupted development and dénouement, which we expect in this form of poetry. Hence those desperate and often incongruous attempts of those who maintain the theory to reconstruct this antique "wedding play" out of their own inner consciousness. We may judge of the shifts to which the most ingenious among them have been driven by Rénan's effort. He treats it as a kind of melodramatic operetta of the French style, for which the words of Canticles form the libretto. But under his skilful manipulation the serious spirit of Hebrew poetry evaporates.

The difficulties of thus representing, or misrepresenting, Canticles are not lessened by the fact that there are two opposite views among those who hold this view. Some consider the principal person in the drama to be Solomon, others believe him to be some unknown country swain, who, as Solomon's rival, becomes the successful lover. In the former case the dialogue would mainly consist of a "conjugal prattle" between Solomon and his simple bride. In the latter the action would turn on the trial and triumph of rustic love in overcoming the allurements of royalty. A few salient points will suffice to indicate the standpoint of each, and to show what value may be attached to either, and how far this supports the theory in question.

We will take the "Shepherd theory" to begin with, as the more plausible of the two. Briefly stated, it represents the Shulamite as a village maiden, accidentally or by curiosity coming too near the royal train, attracting the king's notice. She is carried away by the king's order to his harem in Jerusalem. Here she resists all his advances and proves faithful to her lover, until at last the royal suitor, impressed by her constancy, restores her to her home, and generously effects the union of the lovers.

It is necessary to this theory that all the expressions of languishing desire for the beloved which fall from the maiden's lips are supposed to be addressed to her absent lover in a dreamlike trance or state of somnambulism, and that what seem to be replies in a dialogue with the king are words addressed to the king's rival. (Rénan even goes so far as to suggest that they suggest a *double entendre*, leaving the king to take it as he pleases for himself or some other.) But for one "wrapt up in a blissful dream," home-sick and love-sick, addressing Solomon absently, or conversing in an unconscious state with her absent lover in the king's presence, the poem has too much reality. The hypothesis of a dream is reduced to an absurdity by one of the most recent Jewish interpreters, who divides Canticles into two unequal parts, the greater part describing the experiences of the Shulamite in dreamland. This, he thinks, saves her character, for no pure maiden would be capable of venting her feelings as she does in a waking state.

According to the rival hypothesis Canticles describes an idyllic love of Solomon for the maid of Shunem quite unique in its character, depth, and intensity; that, in fact, it is the type of a model marriage. Whether composed by Solomon in the earlier part of his life, and in the flush of youthful enthusiasm, or in the later stages of his spiritual development, when, like some modern mystics, such as Madame Krüdener, a mondaine in her youth and a religious devotee in her later life, Canticles would be in the nature of a Hebrew idyl; it could represent the Shulamite as a new Heloïse, to show the superiority of the simplicity of nature over the deceptions of an artificial civilization.

The difficulty here is to imagine Solomon (painted by himself or others) as dallying with a fair lass of the country after the manner of country lads, and actually passing part

of his time with her and her mother in rural seclusion. The picture of an Oriental potentate wooing and winning his bride under such conditions is scarcely conceivable, especially as bridal love is a thing almost unknown in the East. Besides, as Budde has shown, the Song of Songs is the praise of married love in its consummation.

II. This brings us to what appears to be the more consistent view of the poem, as a *carmen nuptiale*, or a collection of pastoral love songs, recited at marriage feasts with or without scenic representations, and corresponding to German *Sing-spiele*. This æsthetic or literal view, now commonly received, is not altogether a novel conception. Theodore of Mopsuestia († 429), S. Castello († 1544), Luis de Léon (1569), and Grotius take this view of a collection of bridal songs. The idea that it consists of a series of "dramatic idyls," recited during the seven days of marriage feasts like similar marriage songs of the Egyptians, is of recent date.

Much light is thrown on the subject by the Syrian custom, discovered and described by Wetstein, and contained in the appendix of Delitzsch's commentary on Canticles. According to this, the bridegroom, though he may be a simple peasant, is, during the marriage feast, represented as a king with crown and diadem (Cant. iii. 7–11). The thrashing table, a common agricultural implement, serves temporarily as the throne, or seat of honour, of bride and bridegroom. The friends of the bridegroom become thus the "valiant men" who accompany Solomon and the bride, his queen. She performs the festal sword dance, and the songs are recited from the thrashing table, all of which happens in Syria about the time of spring, according to ancient custom, *i.e.* after the rainy season, and with this the time of the action in the poem coincides. Canticles is thus turned into a "text-book of a Palestino-Israelitish wedding." This certainly would go far to explain the

sectional character of Canticles. The song of "the little foxes," for example, which *The Speaker's Commentary* calls a fragment of a winedresser's ballad, and other apparently independent bits included without apparent connection with the running text of the little book, would correspond to a series of "pastorettes" of the Troubadours, in which too, as here, the lyrical and dramatic forms merge into one another. But, then, there is the general consensus of mystical interpretations before and since the Christian era, which, whilst it sees in this oldest of love songs the praise of lawful marriage, attributes to it at the same time a deeper and more spiritual meaning—the mystical union between God and His people, or Christ and His Church.

III. This brings us to the third—the allegorical method of interpretation originating with the Jews, and adapted by Origen in his voluminous commentary on Canticles, and persisted in ever since by a host of writers, Jewish and Christian.

No doubt some of these attempts to find a hidden meaning are far-fetched and improbable, such as, *e.g.*, that which refers the two rows of teeth of the heroine to the priests and Levites; or another which refers it to the disciples sent out two and two in their mission by Christ; or that which explains the steps in her dance to refer to "the feet of them that bring good tidings"; or the silver legs to the thirty pieces of silver paid for the betrayal of Jesus. Of a similar character is the suggestion of St. Cyril that the palanquin of Solomon is a type of the cross; or the explanation of a modern Roman Catholic commentator, which sees in the two breasts of the bride an allusion to the two great commandments; whilst others explain it as meaning the Old and New Testaments. Of the same nature are the fanciful discoveries of some who see in the etymology of תורים = circlet (chap. i. 9, 11) a connection with תורה = law, "the chain of many links" which bind

those who are under the law; or those who see in the nuptial crown a type of the crown of thorns; in the "spiced mountains" our "heavenly home"; in the dew (chap. v. 2) a reference to the early morning dew of the resurrection day.

Other explanations there are of a more plausible character, such as the reference of the "frankincense," in chapter iv. 6, to the offering of the magi; of chapter v. 9–vi. 3, taken together with Ezekiel i. 26–28, Daniel vii. 9, Revelation i. 3–20, to Christ's risen humanity; and the blackness of the Shulamite to the dark sin of idolatry. The same applies to the ingenuity of those who trace a connection between the well mentioned in chapter iv. 15 to St. John's Gospel (chap. vii. 38), or those who identify the Garden with the Church, and the maid of Shunem with personified wisdom.

In these respects the Song of Songs shares, with poetry generally, the peculiar distinction of suggesting mysterious meanings, so that even of secular poetry a recent critic remarks:

> Mystery is one of the greatest poets with whom I am acquainted. It is he who, with his silent and shadowy hands, opens to us the gates of the Infinite.[1]

The double meaning of certain Oriental love songs, one natural, the other mythical, tends to confirm this view. In the poetry of Hafiz, who is called "the tongue of the Unseen" because of the alleged mysticism contained in his writings, there are such passages bearing a striking resemblance to Canticles: "Thy breast is ivory's gleam" suggests the comparison of the neck to ivory in the Song of Songs. The wine and roses of the former recall Canticles (chap. i. 4, ii. 4, 5); whilst Hafiz himself tells us, "By 'bowl' I imagine the eternal wine; by wine I signify the

[1] Jules Claretie, in an article on Shakespeare and Molière in *Fortnightly Review*.

trance divine"; and a Jewish rabbi of the 12th century speaks of the three passages in Canticles where wine is mentioned as referring to these three: God, the law, and the people of Israel.

At the same time, it should be mentioned that "the full bewilderment of wine" and the "delirium of love," as described in the Persian poet, are considerably toned down in the Song of Songs, as, indeed, the spring songs contained in Canticles are superior to two in the Ghazels of the Divan, though one of these is accepted without doubt as a mystical effusion. Again, when Hafiz speaks of the "consuming torments of love," he prays to his heavenly Guide: "Help me in this sacred journey, for to the wilderness of love no end is visible." When he says, "He whose soul by love is quickened, never can to death be hurled," we are reminded of love stronger than death in Canticles.

It may be objected that the mysticism of Hafiz, the contemporary of Dante, may be more fitly compared with that of Suso and his contemporaries than with that of the Hebrew poem under consideration. M. Rénan, in fact, reminds us that all eastern erotics, with their mystical meanings, do not date back beyond the 10th or 12th century of our era. The reply to this would be that the earlier Persian poetry, now lost to us, probably bore the same characteristics as its later developments which we do know, and that mysticism is one of the most remarkable features of Oriental literature, whence it found its way into Europe, and has been traced even in the poems of Theocritus. Even modern French erotic lyrics try to give vent to the "mysterious chant of the Infinite." Mysticism is the romance of religion; therefore romantic story in poetic form readily becomes the outer vehicle of our inward experience wrought in high-strung spiritual natures, both in the East and the West, in ancient and modern literature. This has been generalized by Goethe in the closing words

of the most mystical of modern poems, the second part of the *Faust*, where the *chorus mysticus* sings:

"All things transitory
But as symbols are sent;
Earth's insufficiency
Here grows to event.
The Indescribable,
Here it is done;
The eternal womanly
Leadeth us on."

What he means is this, that not only every poem, but every event viewed in its poetic aspect, contains a conscious or subconscious hint of a mystical idea underlying it. And the principle has been actually applied to Canticles by a German writer in a pamphlet lately published, in which he says that the Hebrew poet "has created here a precious though earthen vessel to hold a heavenly treasure, which it was reserved for the distant future to bring out in its full effulgence, as an afterglow to enhance its constantly increasing value."

No doubt the same principle lies at the root of the symbolical school of France and Belgium. Poets like Schuré, in his collection of poems under the title "La vie mystique," suggesting the mystical meanings of love, matrimony, and paternity; Maeterlinck, endeavouring to produce the "gémissement frileusement mystique" in his dramas and prose works, seeing everywhere mystical symbols in ordinary relations, not to mention others reproducing the "devout bacchanalia" of Hafiz and Sadi, show that there must be some trait in human nature which everywhere produces the same forms of mystical poetry. There is even a curious family likeness between the "spiritual voluptuousness" of the purely æsthetic school, portraying in language soft, languid, and over refined the erotic passion with poetic sensibility, and the expressions

of mystical emotions of John of the Cross, and Gerson, as when the latter exclaims, by way of reminiscence from Canticles, on his death-bed:

"Fortis est ut mors dilectio."

But it is not necessary to point out the vast difference between the naked or veiled realism of the former and the spiritual idealism of the latter, both in tone and tendency. In the same way the Song of Solomon surpasses all the love songs of the East known to us, both in its literary purity and ethical elevation. It, too, sets its seal on human nature in its normal state as well as in its abnormal moments of spiritual ecstatics. Here, too, we have the playful, genial ease and grace, the light and airy touch of the lyrical poet versed in human passion. But below the rippling stream of these Hebrew melodies runs a deep current of a deeper religious sentiment and mystic fervour, both more real and intense.

This view does not exclude the ethical interpretation now in favour. No doubt the Song of Songs shows forth the superiority of pure and genuine love over animal passion; it sings the praises of simple innocence victoriously resisting the seductions of royal flattery and regal splendour. The commendation of the virtuous woman and the glorification of monogamic faithfulness, the triumph of lawful over illicit love are its main burden. But, as in other portions of the Old and New Testament (with Jer. ii. 2, iii. 20; Ezek. xvi.; Hosea xi. 4, 7; compare Eph. v. 32; 1 John xiii. 1; Rev. xix. 7, xxi. 2; 2 Cor. xi. 2), these may be taken as typical of the faithful devotion of the Church to her Lord, and the love of Christ for His Church.

It is not necessary to sacrifice the mystical interpretation to the moral or *vice versâ*. Even the morality plays of a later age contained at bottom a spiritual meaning. It is quite in keeping with the nature of human love, as elevated

by Christianity, to prefigure the "disinterested love" of the saints or the spiritual love of a St. Teresa, a Fénélon, a Madame Guyon, and others. The author of *The Rose of Sharon* was, therefore, guided by a fine artistic instinct in using this "most obscure book" as the foundation of his dramatic oratorio by dwelling, as he does in the prologue, on its spiritual significance, and in the epilogue pointing out its moral significance.

> For the flame of love is as fire, even the fire of God.
> Many waters cannot quench it, neither can floods drown it.
> Yes, love is strong as death, and unconquerable as the grave.

The sentiment here expressed is true alike of the highest forms of human affection culminating in a consecrated union, and the noblest aspirations of the soul in its diviner yearnings after complete union with the ever blest.

M. KAUFMANN.

RECENT CRITICISM OF THE EPISTLES TO THE THESSALONIANS.

OF late years the study of the Epistles to the Thessalonians has made considerable progress; several important works have appeared, mainly in Germany, bearing on their criticism and interpretation. Of chief importance amongst these are the New Testament *Einleitungen* of H. J. Holtzmann (3rd ed.), of A. Jülicher (in the *Grundriss der theologischen Wissenschaften*), and especially of Theodor Zahn (2nd ed., 1900); the essay of F. Spitta on the Second Epistle in vol. i. of his dissertations *Zur Geschichte und Litteratur des Urchristenthums*; and the able and exhaustive commentary of W. Bornemann on the two Epistles, replacing the work of Lünemann in the 5th and 6th editions of Meyer's *Kritisch-exegetisches Commentar*, along with P. W. Schmiedel's slighter but valuable exposition in the new *Hand-*

commentar zum Neuen Testament. Beside the above may be mentioned, from an earlier but recent date, P. W. Schmidt's *Der 1 Thessalonicher-brief neu erklärt, nebst Excurs über den zweiten gleichnamigen Brief*; A. Klöpper's *Der zweite Brief an d. Thessalonicher* in the *Theologischen Studien aus Ostpreussen* (Heft 8, 1889); F. Bahnsen, in the *Jahrbuch für protestantische Theologie*, 1880, pp. 681 ff.; Westrik's *De echtheid van den tweeden brief aan de Thess.* (Utrecht, 1879); and J. C. K. von Hofmann's commentary, in his *Die heilige Schrift des Neuen Testaments*, part i. (2nd ed., 1869). The brief exposition of Bishop Lightfoot, published in his posthumous *Notes on the Epistles of St. Paul* (1895), pp. 1–136, is of the highest value for the detailed interpretation of the two Epistles. It contains, however, no *Introduction*, and does not discuss the question of authenticity. This is tacitly assumed throughout.

The discussion represented by the above works has gone, substantially, in the direction of re-vindicating and rehabilitating the documents in their Pauline character. The doubts made current by F. C. Baur respecting the authenticity of 1 Thessalonians appear to have been finally removed. This writing, along with Philippians, is now counted by all, except a few Dutch scholars of the most obstinate scepticism, amongst "the undisputed Epistles" of St. Paul. At the same time the opposition raised to the Pauline authorship of 2 Thessalonians has been much reduced and modified. The judgment of A. Harnack, expressed in the Preface to his *Chronologie der altchristlichen Litteratur* (1897), indicates the changed attitude and temper now prevailing in the Higher Criticism of the New Testament: "There was a time in which it was thought necessary to regard the most ancient Christian literature, including the New Testament, as a tissue of deceptions and falsifications. That time is past. For science it was an

episode in which it has learnt much, and after which it has much to forget." Harnack finds only one canonical book that, in his judgment, is strictly pseudonymous—viz., 2 Peter; and only the Pastoral Epistles of Paul considerably marked by interpolations. Holtzmann, the most eminent of Baur's successors, admits in regard of 2 Thessalonians (*Einleitung*, p. 216) that "the question is no longer as to whether the Epistle should be pushed down into the post-apostolic age, but whether, on the other hand, it does not actually reach back to the lifetime of the Apostle, in which case it is consequently genuine, and must have been written soon after 1 Thessalonians, about the year 54." Jülicher, a pupil of the same school, concludes his examination by saying (*Einleitung*, p. 44), "If one is content to make fair and reasonable claims on a Pauline Epistle, no occasion will be found to ascribe 2 Thessalonians to an author less original or of less powerful mind than Paul himself."

The nearer this Epistle is brought to St. Paul's lifetime, the more improbable, and needless, becomes the theory of spurious authorship. The language of II. ii. 2 and iii. 17 raises a strong presumption against personation. Professing in his first word to be "Paul," and claiming in ii. 15 the First Epistle for his own, the writer solemnly guards his readers against this very danger; to father the letter on some well-meaning disciple writing as though he were Paul, in the Apostle's vein and by way of supplement to his teaching, is to contradict the explicit testimony of the document. The Epistle is no innocent pseudepigraph. It proceeds either from Paul himself, or from some one who wishes to be taken for him, and who attempts to cover his deception by denouncing it. Were it conceivable that a composition of this nature, spurious throughout or in its principal passages, could have found currency in the second century, that it should have been palmed upon the Thessalonian Church within ten years of the Apostle's death—for this is what we

are asked to believe, on the assumption of inauthenticity—is a thing incredible in no ordinary degree. The presence and influence of this Epistle in post-apostolic times are better attested even than in the case of 1 Thessalonians; it is used by Polycarp (*ad Philipp.*, xi. 4), and by Justin Martyr (*Dial.*, chaps. xxxii., cx.),—viz., in chap. ii. 3 ff., the peculiar and most contested part of the Epistle, and in chap. iii. 15. In view of the two verses above referred to, these writers can hardly have employed the letter in the manner and connexion in which they do, without ascribing it to the author whose name it bears. Hilgenfeld, Pfleiderer, and Bahnsen remain alone in reading chap. ii. 1–12 as a polemic against Gnosticism (with the Episcopate for "the restrainer"), belonging to the epoch of Trajan.

The theory prevalent amongst those who still contest St. Paul's authorship is that 2 Thessalonians dates from the juncture between the assassination of the Emperor Nero in June 68 A.D. and the fall of Jerusalem in August 70, and is contemporary with and closely parallel to Revelation xiii., xvii., and that by "the man of lawlessness" is intended the dead Nero, who was then and for long afterwards supposed by many to be still living concealed in the East, the fear of his return to power adding a further element of horror to the wild confusion of the times. A prophecy based upon a false rumour like this, and itself speedily falsified by the event, would surely have been discredited from the beginning. The original readers cannot have suspected the legendary *Nero redivivus* in "the adversary" of 2 Thessalonians ii. 3 ff. The fact is that no real trace of the Nero legend is discoverable in 2 Thessalonians (see B. Weiss's *Apocalyptische Studien, ad rem*); this groundless speculation of Kern and Baur should be dismissed from criticism. The distinctive traits of the character and career of Nero, while they have left their mark on the Apocalypse of St. John, are wanting here. 2 Thessalonians

belongs to *pre-Neronian* Apocalyptic, and falls therefore within the lifetime of St. Paul. The true historical position is that of Spitta (*Urchristenthum*, I. p. 125; similarly von Hofmann, Klöpper, Zahn)—viz., that in "the lawless one" of chap. ii. the image of Antiochus Epiphanes as idealized in the Book of Daniel, and of Caius Caligula as known to St. Paul, have been "smelted together," and that the Emperor Caius represented to the mind of the writer the furthest development which "the mystery of lawlessness," in its continuous "working," had attained up to his own time.

Spitta's hypothesis proceeds upon the datum just stated. He conceives the real author of 2 Thessalonians to have been *St. Timothy*, writing by St. Paul's side at Corinth under the Apostle's suggestion and on his account, but writing out of his own mind and as the member of the missionary band who had been most recently present and teaching in Thessalonica. Spitta thus seeks to account both for the singular *resemblance* of the Second Epistle to the First, and its singular *differences*. (1) Under the former head it is observed that, outside of ii. 2–12, there are but nine verses in 2 Thessalonians which do not reflect the language and ideas of 1 Thessalonians. In its whole conception as well as in vocabulary and phrasing, apart from the peculiar eschatological passages, the later Epistle is an echo of the earlier; the spontaneity and freshness that one expects to find in the Apostle's work are wanting here; indeed, it is said that Paul, had he wished to do so, could not have repeated himself thus closely without reading his former letter for the purpose. Such imitation, it is argued, would be very natural in Timothy, with Paul's First Epistle before him as a model, when writing to the same Church shortly afterwards on his master's behalf and in their joint name. Amid this sameness of expression, we miss the warm gush and lively play of feeling—the *Paulinum pectus*

that glows in the First Epistle, and which vindicates it so strongly for its author. The tone is more cool and official throughout. There is a measured and almost laboured turn of speech (comp. II. i. 3–7, ii. 13 f., with I. 2–5, iii. 9 f.; II. i. 10–12, with I. ii. 19 f., iii. 11 ff.; II. iii. 7 ff., with I. ii. 7 ff.), which betrays the absence of the master mind, and the larger part played by the secretary—presumably Timothy—in the composition of this letter.

Bornemann fairly accounts for the contrast thus described by pointing out the fact that by the date of the Second Epistle Paul was immersed in Corinthian affairs, and his heart was no longer away at Thessalonica as when he first wrote; moreover, the intense and critical experience out of which the First Epistle sprang had stamped itself deeply on the soul of the Apostle, so that in taking up the pen again and writing, after a short interval, to a Church whose condition gave no new turn to his reflexions, the former train of thought and expression recurred to him, more or less unconsciously, and the Second Epistle naturally became a supplement and largely a rehearsal of the First. To this explanation may be added the two considerations: first, that the very occasion of this supplement—the continuance of the morbid excitement about the Parousia, and of the disorder lightly touched upon in I. iv. 10 ff. and severely censured in II. iii. 6–16—involved a certain surprise and disappointment, which inevitably chilled the writer's cordiality and made the emphasis of affection and the *empressement* of the First Epistle impossible in this. Galatians and 1 Corinthians exhibit fluctuations of feeling, within the same Epistle, not unlike that which distinguishes 2nd from 1st Thessalonians. Further, and in the second place, the visions rising before the Apostle's mind in chaps. i. 5–10, ii. 2–12, were of such a nature as to throw the writer into the mood of solemn contemplation rather than of familiar intercourse.

When Spitta comes to the original part of 2 Thessalonians —chaps. ii. 1–12 (the signs premonitory of the Day of the Lord) and iii. 6–15 (the excommunication of idlers)—his theory fails. He sees in ii. 5 a reminder of *St. Timothy's* teaching at Thessalonica, supposing that St. Paul's younger helper had views respecting the Last Things more definite in some respects, and more Jewish in colouring, than those of his leader, who spoke of the coming of "the day" as altogether indeterminate. He thinks that Timothy had adopted some *Jewish* Apocalypse of Caligula's time (he was conversant with "sacred writings," 2 Timothy iii. 15, and 2 Thessalonians, though quotations are wanting in it, is steeped in Old Testament language beyond any other Pauline Epistle), to which he gave a Christian turn, shaping it into his prophecy respecting "the mystery of iniquity," which lies outside of Paul's doctrine and is nowhere else hinted at in the Epistles. But considering the chasm which lay between the Pauline mission and Judaism, it is highly improbable that either Timothy should have borrowed, or Paul endorsed, a non-Christian Apocalypse; if the conception of *vv.* 3–5 goes back, as in all likelihood it does, to the epoch of Caligula, there is no reason why it should not have originated in the Apostle's own mind, since by the year 40 he was already a Christian, or amongst the ranks of the "prophets and teachers" numerous at Jerusalem and Antioch in the fifth Christian decade. Caligula's outrage on the Temple was a sign of the times that could hardly fail to stir the prophetic spirit of the Church, while it roused the passionate anger of the whole Jewish world. The expressions of 2 Thessalonians ii. 5–7 suggest that "the man of lawlessness" was no new figure to Christian imagination; his image, based on the Antiochus-Caligula model, had probably become a familiar object in other Christian circles before the Apostles preached in Thessalonica. It is true that this representation never appears

again in the Epistles. But this does not prove that St. Paul at no time held the doctrine it embodies, nor even that he ceased to hold it at a later time. The circumstances calling for its inculcation at Thessalonica were such as did not recur. In later Epistles the Parousia recedes to a more distant future, and a glorious intervening prospect for the world opens out in Romans xi.; but there is nothing in this subsequent enlargement of view to forbid the expectation of such a finale to human history, and such a consummate revelation of Satanic power preceding the coming of the Lord, as this Epistle predicts. Our Lord's recorded prophecies of the Last Judgment cannot well be understood without the anticipation of a closing deadly struggle of this nature.

Being the last of the three whose names stand in the Address of 1 and 2 Thessalonians alike, had he written II. ii. 5 *propria persona* St. Timothy would have been bound to mark the distinction—by inserting "I Timotheus, indeed," or the like (comp. I. ii. 18)—the more so because this letter purports, even more explicitly than the First, to come from St. Paul himself (iii. 17). The entire passage, ii. 1–12, is marked by a loftiness of imagination, an assurance and dignity of manner, and a concise vigour of style, that we cannot well associate with what we know of the position and qualities of Timothy. Whatever might be said of other parts of the letter, this its unique and distinctive deliverance comes from no second-rate or second-hand composer of the Pauline school, but from the apostolic fountain-head. The other original paragraph of the Epistle, chap. iii. 6–15, speaks with the peculiar authority and decision characteristic of Paul's attitude to his Churches in disciplinary matters. If authority is more conspicuous here than tenderness, the persistence of the offence necessitates this altered tone. The readers could never have presumed that a charge so solemn and peremptory proceeded from

the third and least important of the three missionaries ostensibly writing to them, that "we" throughout the passage meant in reality Timothy alone, and that Paul, who immediately afterwards signs the letter with his own hand, had allowed his assistant to give orders that did not really proceed from himself. The additional reason alleged in *v.* 9 for the Apostle's "working with" his "own hands" is different from that of 1 Thessalonians ii. 9 (repeated here in *v.* 8), but is quite consistent therewith and pertinent to the occasion, while it is well supported by the parallels found in 1 Corinthians iv. 17, xi. 1; Philippians iii. 17; Acts xx. 34 f.

The contradiction between I. v. 2–10 and II. ii. 1–12, so often urged in evidence of dual authorship, disappears on closer examination. The First Epistle represents the Parousia as *near and sudden*, the Second as *more distant and known by premonitory signs*. But the second passage is expressly written to correct an erroneous inference which the writer conceives may have been drawn from the first, and to which, if unguardedly read, the words of 1 Thessalonians certainly lend themselves. The premonitory sign, viz., that of "the adversary's" coming, shows that the end, though it may be near, is *not immediate*. Moreover, as stated in I. v. 3 ff., it is the unbelievers, "in darkness" and "sleeping," whom "the day" will "overtake as a thief" (or "as thieves") with its "sudden destruction"; those "of the day," who are "awake" and "sober," may surely expect to have such warning and foresight as the Second Epistle helps to furnish. It is true, as Bornemann says, that if a candidate at some theological examination were to bring forward in his essay on "The Last Things" such statements as are found in these two passages, set in bald juxtaposition and without explanation, his work would be judged defective and contradictory. But St. Paul writes under conditions widely removed from these: he glances now

at one side now at another, as practical need requires, of a body of truth already orally communicated in its main outlines, with many details present to the minds of the readers and completing the sense of what is thus conveyed by writing, which he has no occasion to restate in full and recapitulate. Only when a *speedy* return of the Lord had been expected, could the thought be entertained that His day had actually arrived (II. ii. 2). The mistake that is reproved in the Second Epistle bears witness to the startling announcement made in the First Epistle, for this is its natural and almost inevitable exaggeration. No *date* is supplied in II. ii. for the advent of Antichrist; and the "times and seasons" remain equally uncertain in 2 and 1 Thessalonians. The contrast here noticeable in the two letters of Paul is found in contiguous sentences from our Lord's own predictions: Matthew xxiv. 33 gives a *preparatory sign*, while *v.* 36 declares the wholly *uncertain date* of the consummation.

The theories of *interpolation* have found but little acceptance. They account for the striking difference between 2 Thessalonians ii. 2–12 (to which i. 5–12 might be added) and 1 Thessalonians, and the equally striking parallelism which the Second Epistle in its other parts present to the First, by attributing to the two sections a different origin. P. W. Schmidt, in the work above referred to (see also the *Short Protestant Commentary*, by Schmidt and others, vol. II.: Eng. transl.), distinguishes a genuine Epistle of Paul consisting of chaps. i. 1–4, ii. 12*a*, ii. 13–iii. 18, treating the rest as an interpolation made about the year 69 by some half-Judaistic Christian akin to the author of Revelation xiii., wishing to allay excitement respecting the Parousia, who worked up the idea of the *Nero redivivus* into an apocalypse, and employed an old and perhaps neglected letter of the Apostle as a vehicle for this prophecy of his own. Dr. S. Davidson (*Introduction to the Study*

of the New Testament,[2] vol. I. pp. 336–348) adopted a similar view. But this compromise, while open to most of the objections that have been brought against the hypothesis of personation, raises others peculiar to itself. It ascribes to Paul an Epistle from which the pith and point have been extracted—little more than a shell without the kernel—weak and disconnected in its earlier part, and a Second to the Thessalonians following hard upon the First yet wanting in reference to the Parousia so conspicuous in the previous letter. Schmiedel prefers to regard the whole as spurious. If a partition must be made upon these lines, one would rather adopt A. Hausrath's view (in his *History of the Times of the Apostles*, translated, *ad rem*), that 2 Thessalonians ii. 1–12 is a genuine Pauline fragment, which some later Paulinist has furnished with an epistolary framework in order to give it circulation amongst his master's works.

Such conjectures are, however, unnecessary, and altogether speculative. The text and tradition of the Epistle afford no ground for believing that it ever existed in any form than that we know. Where the Apostle has the same things to say and the same feelings to express which found utterance in the First Epistle to the Thessalonians, he writes in the same strain, but in a manner more ordinary and subdued as the flood of emotion that dictated the First Epistle has subsided and his mind has become engrossed with other interests. Where new ideas and altered needs on the part of his readers require it, as in i. 5–12, ii. 2–12, and iii. 6–15, he strikes out in new directions with the vehemence and originality characteristic of his genius.

GEORGE G. FINDLAY.

LINES OF DEFENCE OF THE BIBLICAL REVELATION.

V. The Bible of the Jews (*concluded*).

The Jews, in matters affecting their religion, are forced to conceal their obligations, and hence the reforms are sprung on the nation unawares. Of the origin of the punctuation of the Bible, as of the compilation of the Talmud, we have no authentic record; in the case of the latter the origin is fraudulently misrepresented, in that of the former it is hidden in the dark. Those who introduced these reforms knew that to acknowledge obligations to Christians or Mohammedans would be to wreck the chance of success that the reform had; whereas if flung on the nation suddenly, they might win by their own merits. The condition in which we have to think of the Jews before the Abbasid period is somewhat similar to that of the Copts[1] or the Parsees. With the fall of Jerusalem Hebrew had ceased to exist as a spoken or written language. There was, however, a tradition preserved of the way to read the Hebrew Bible, and a certain number of sayings in the same language, partly from lost books, were preserved and taught in the schools. Otherwise the Jews thought, spoke, and wrote in the languages of the countries in which they sojourned.

The Targum is no more an authentic document than the Mishnah. Of difficult words and phrases in the Old Testament there was here and there a traditional interpretation in Aramaic; it is not impossible that some of these glosses go back to the days of Nehemiah. But the committal of this inteprretation to writing was forbidden;[2] and the

[1] Jahiz, quoted by Raghib of Ispahan, *Colloquies*, ii. 248. This writer, who died 868 A.D., is of great ability.

[2] Midrash Tanchuma (Warsaw, 1879), i. 25.

phrase by which the Targum is quoted in the Talmud, "as we interpret," shows that it was not thought of as a written book. Similarly instead of "reading the Targum," the formula used is "knowing how to translate"; and the accurate Mas'udi in the tenth century describes the Targum not as a book, but as a *language* into which the Jews translate their sacred books.[1] Where the Targum is mentioned as a book in the Talmud, the Christian Syriac translation called Peshitta is meant. Hence we can easily reconstruct the history of the "Targum." When the movement for preserving every monument of antiquity which we see dominated Islam in the early Abbasid period spread to the Jews, the preservation of the old Aramaic interpretation was considered desirable. But there was not enough of it in stable form to put down. What was done, therefore, was to *revise the Peshitta*, inserting the traditional interpretations where they could be obtained. Hence it comes that Christian interpretations are found in the Targum, and that the Peshitta is sometimes misrepresented in it.

Novelists who are well acquainted with human nature sometimes show how a quarrel between masters is taken up by servants. Two officers are on bad terms; so their servants come to blows. Between Kais and Kalb there is an immemorial feud; if the theory be true that David was chief of Kalb, then we can understand how it came about that there was no peace between him and the son of Kais (Kish). Similar to, if not identical with, this feud was that between the people of Syria and the people of Irak; the Umayyad dynasty represented the hegemony of Syria, whereas the Abbasid dynasty represented that of Irak. The Christian chronicler known as Dionysius of Tell-Mahré speaks of the Abbasid conquest as the conquest of

[1] *Bibliotheca Geogr. Arab.*, viii. 79.

the Arabs by the Persians. It would be surprising if the Jews, though subjects and not directly involved in the quarrel, had not taken it up. They did take it up; the Syrian Jews by no means approved of the domination of their Eastern brethren. Hence we find a duplication of the new literature. The Babylonian Talmud finds a rival in the Jerusalem Talmud. The Targum of "Onkelos" has a rival in the Jerusalem Targum. But just as Irak prevailed in the contest for political power, so the school of Babylon won an easy victory over the school of Palestine.

For the rest, the literature which the Jews now produce in large quantities is the merest imitation of what the Mohammedans have got. An author, supposed to be R. Nissim of Kairawan, about the year 1,000, writes a book of "Anecdotes," and gives the following reason for doing so:[1] "Since the sectarians (*i.e.* the Moslems) have books which they call *Deliverance after Stress*, I thought our people ought to have a work of the same kind." The idea of collecting stories of providential escapes in order to console the afflicted appears to require but little originative power for its conception; but the author was not capable of conceiving it without external aid. A couple of generations before, R. Seadyah, the greatest of Jewish writers, writes on Creeds; he would not have done this, had not the comparison of beliefs been a recognised part of the Kalam. The period after the compiling of the Tradition is with the Mohammedans the period of the composition of the legal codes; so the Jews begin to compose codes. Some of the Moslem codes are called "Pandects," *i.e.* "All containing"; ere long these are matched by a Jewish work bearing the elegant title "All-in-it." The pride of the Arabic language is its poetry, which, while observing

[1] Lemberg edition, near the commencement.

the measure of syllables as carefully as Greek, adds thereto a rhyming system of extraordinary elaboration. The Jews find that Hebrew will scan and rhyme no less than Arabic, and so they become poets. Letters are written by the heads of Mohammedan communities to distinguished jurisconsults, requesting opinions on difficult points of law; presently the Jews find themselves in possession of a whole literature of Responsa, at first in the Yiddish of the time, *i.e.* Nabatæan Aramaic, presently in Arabic, and then in Hebrew. In the fourth century of Islam continuous commentaries on the Koran come to be substituted for the older and less formal style of desultory homilies. The Jews, who had matched the latter with their Midrashim, can now boast of a Rashi and an Ibn Ezra.

The canon that the Jews have in religious matters no ideas of their own has therefore proved itself the solvent for all questions which attach themselves to what is called Rabbinical literature; if you see a Jewish book, you have only to look through an Arabic bibliography, and you will speedily detect the source of the former. Few Jewish writers acknowledge their obligations so candidly as "Rabbi Nissim," but the reason of this has been seen. What then were the Jews doing between the fall of Jerusalem and the Mohammedan conquest? This question cannot be answered easily; but the point whence we start is the definite assertion of the Talmud that the Jews were allowed to write nothing except the Old Testament. This assertion is rightly regarded as indisputable by Seadyah in the tenth century and Rashi in the eleventh; Krochmal and Frankel in the nineteenth century think they know better, but they are mistaken. The Talmud can be no more mistaken about that matter than can Ghazzali be about the age of the literature of the Mohammedans. Hence the latest event mentioned in the Talmud gives us the *terminus a quo* for the renaissance of Jewish writing. This is probably

the slaughter of the Umayyads[1] in 750 A.D., which is used as an illustration in the Mishnah of the tractate "New Year's Day."

But the idea of a canon, containing books which might be written to the exclusion of all others, must have some origin; and how far can we trace either the prohibition against writing or the constitution of the canon? The canon of Leontius of Byzantium of the seventh century shows that the rule existed then; but its commencement is not so easy to trace. Jerome professes to have seen the original of Ecclesiasticus, but he was easily taken in, and deserves little credence. The words of Epiphanius, who is a little earlier, imply that the Apocrypha still existed in Hebrew, but, since he cannot give their Hebrew names, no faith can be placed in such an inference. From Origen we might expect fuller information on this point, but we fail to obtain it. He is, however, familiar with the word *Apocrypha*, and the meaning of that word is worth considering. It is a translation of the Hebrew word which, in this context, means to destroy. The Talmudists bless a man for not having allowed Ezekiel to be rendered apocryphal; thereby implying that Ezekiel would otherwise have been lost to the community. Hence apocryphal books mean "destroyed books," and Origen's suggestion that certain narratives might be preserved among the *destroyed books* involves a humorous contradiction. Hence the rule that only the canonical books might be written is as early as Origen; and when Melito enumerates the canonical books as those possessed by the Jews, we are justified in

[1] The spelling מרון for *Merwān* is the same as that employed by Dionysius of Tell-Mahré. *Baru Merwan* is used for the Umayyads by early Arabic writers, on Kutaibah, Istakhri, etc. If the story in Ibn Khallikan i. 258 be authentic, it was in use before 725 A.D. The Gemara first glosses the phrase rightly as "sons of our Prince," but proceeds to give some impossible explanations. The massacre was at Anbar (*Ikd Farid*, ii. 280), a Jewish centre.

inferring that they had no others. The last copy of the original of Ecclesiasticus was that used by the Syriac translator somewhen in the second century A.D.; it was faint and obliterated with age, and was probably thrown away by him when he had done with it.

To him who reflects on the origins of Christianity it will be apparent that the earliest Christian literature must have been largely in Hebrew. In the Gospel of the Nativity the Hebrew often glimmers through, and here and there in the Acts of Thomas, where indeed we are expressly told that Thomas sings in Hebrew, and therefore is understood by a Jewess. The fall of Jerusalem doubtless led to the disappearance of Hebrew as a spoken language. The books of the Christians, invigorated by the fulfilment of their Master's prophecy, were a positive danger. A rule, therefore, is made, prohibiting the writing of any Hebrew books besides those included in the Canon. Ben-Sira has the name *Jesus*; though his book is harmless, it is better to destroy it, for, if books by a Jesus were allowed, Christian productions might be smuggled in. The Wisdom of Solomon is likely to be used for polemical purposes, owing to the predictions which it contains; therefore it is allowed to perish. From the rigid censure which the Salomonic writings underwent, and whence Proverbs and Ecclesiastes narrowly escaped, we may infer without hardihood that some of them are likely to have perished.

Whether the anti-Christian interpolations which the Hebrew Bible contains were all made at once seems uncertain. Probably they were introduced according as controversy rendered it necessary. The most striking of all is the alteration of the name of the follower of Moses from Jesus to Joshua (Jeshua to Jehoshua). This personage is called Jesus by Nehemiah, the LXX., the Peshitta, Philo, and Josephus; and Ben-Sira, in a remarkable grammatical note, observes that his name is an intensive

form of the word "saviour,"[1] which can only apply to the name Jeshua, since Jehoshua must mean "Jehovah is a rock," and has no connection with this root. Ben-Sira's nine-syllable metre also testifies in a manner which perhaps the revisers of the Canon could not foresee. The Latin Fathers before Jerome speak regularly of *Jesus* in this context. The reason for this alteration was not only dislike of the name Jeshua, or Jesus, but the fact that the Christian controversialists based an argument on Moses having altered his follower's name from Hoshea to Jesus. This appears in Augustine, Jerome's contemporary,[2] but also in the Dialogue of Justin, which is of the second century;[3] and, since the spelling of the name Jehoshua in the Hebrew Bible is such as to render the pronunciation Jeshua impossible, this alteration would be quite sufficient to silence the Christians. If we knew whether Justin was the first person[4] who based an argument for Christianity on the passage of Numbers in which the name of Hoshea is changed, we should have a *terminus a quo* for this alteration; for the introduction of the form Joshua into Christian books Jerome is apparently responsible.

The purpose, therefore, of the revision of the Canon which took place before Melito's time was restrictive. Only those books which were to form part of the law were to be preserved; the rest were to be destroyed. From this time dates the great distinction between "reading" and "reciting" which pervades the Talmud. To *read* means to study the Old Testament; to *recite* means to

[1] Ecclus. xlvi. 1:

גִּבּוֹר חַיִל יְשׁוּעַ בְּן־נוּן
וְיוֹרֵשׁ מֹשֶׁה בַּנְּבִיאוּת
אֲשֶׁר הָיָה כְּשִׁמוֹ [מוֹשִׁיעַ]
גָּדוֹל עַל יְשׁוּעַת חֹבְרָיו

The Samaritan Pentateuch agrees with the Jewish Bible.

[2] *Contra Faustum*, xvi. (viii. 249B). [3] *Dialogue*, §§ 106, 131, 132.

[4] *The Epistle of Barnabas*, § 12, cannot be quoted.

study something else. The Old Testament is Mikra; everything else Mishnah.[1] This means that nothing but the Old Testament might be written; the rest of the matter possessed by the Jews was to be preserved orally.[2] Where oral tradition has to take charge of a mass of matter that is neither in verse nor in counted sentences, accretion and loss cannot be avoided. Hence the Talmud contains matter belonging to some nine different centuries. It is not likely, however, that the oral tradition claimed to be a second law till the Mohammedan tradition had acquired that value. The Karaites are in reality no more averse to tradition than the Rabbanites. What they disapprove is that the oral tradition should be written and assigned an importance equal to that of the Bible.

Before the revision of the Canon, there was the state of things which Josephus describes: there were a number of sacred books of primary authority; but there was no objection to multiplying literature in Hebrew. How then came the Jews to think of a Canon? For we see that the Bible contains post-exilian matter. Whence came the Jews to think of separating books of authority from the rest? As before, we have only to glance round to find the source of this idea.

To the Jews of Ben-Sira's time the Greeks were what the Arabs were to Seadyah and his contemporaries. We have seen that Seadyah convinces the Jews of the authority of the Talmud, although it was not reduced to writing more than a century before Seadyah's time. Hence the completion of the Canon need not have preceded Ben-Sira's

[1] Ordinarily Rashi understands this, *e.g.*, *Ketuboth*, 17*a* ult.; but on *Nedarim*, 62*a*, he forgets it. Cf. *Tosefta*, ed. Zuckermandel, p. 374, 25.

[2] This is regularly *assumed* in the Talmud; *e.g. Nedarim*, 41*a*: "Rab Joseph was ill; so all his knowledge was uprooted. Ubayy repeated it to him; he said, I have never *heard* this *oral tradition*." *Kiddushin*, 30*a*: "When Rab Assi died, the Rabbis met to pick out his dicta." This means, says Rashi, "they met and said, Let every one who has *heard* a fresh dictum from his mouth *say* it in the ears of his companion."

birth by many generations, notwithstanding his glorification of it. The destruction of Greek liberty by Philip of Macedon, followed by the world conquest of Alexander, had made Attic Greek the literary language of the world. Entering upon the heritage of free Hellas, the world of the Epigoni took stock of its possessions. Just as Aristotle collects constitutions by scores, so he has on his shelves a row of classics furnishing the matter whence he can generalize for his philosophy of taste. That any nation besides the Hellenes had a literature is an idea from which the father of science seems to be very far.

The classical age of Greek literature stops at the battle of Chæronea; and within sixty years of that event the Alexandrian library is founded. Contemporary with its foundation is the first editor of Greek classics, Zenodotus. He is the father of all who collect various readings. The generation that separates him from the battle of Chæronea represents the period of transition from the productive period to the reproductive. The Greek authors have become *classics*, *i.e.* authors divided into classes, and arranged in rows.

That the Hebrew Canon closes at this time can be no more accidental than the fact that Hebrew grammar and lexicography flourish a little later than Arabic grammar and lexicography. The attitude of Alexandria towards Judæa was friendly, whence the latter was willing to learn from the former. The heirs of free Greece were proud of its legacy of classics, hence the Jews find themselves in possession of classics; only, as usual, they can surpass what the Greeks have. The Greeks have their canon of orators, their epic cycle, their old, middle, and new comedy, their twenty-four books of the Iliad and twenty-four books of the Odyssey. The Jews have their five books of Moses and their twelve minor prophets, etc., etc. Just as in the case of the oral law and the vocalization of the

Old Testament, the Jews have to learn from foreigners the value of what they have. They learn it; but they are forced to disown the obligation.

Just as for the writing down and editing of the Talmud, we have the narrow limits drawn by the dates of Ibn Juraij and Seadyah, so for the completion of the Canon we have the boundaries marked by the dates of Aristotle and Ben-Sira. The name given to the Hebrew classics was at first *either* the Law, *or* the Prophets, *or* the Book of the Covenant; the practice of the Talmud, in which the Law means the Old Testament, is as old as the New Testament, and is also found in Ben-Sira.[1] That the name "the Prophets" covered the whole appears from the passage cited above, in which Joshua is said to come after Moses in the prophetic office, whence the books of Moses would clearly come under the category prophecy. The term "Written Books" is also applied in the New Testament to the whole collection; but this must be an abridgment for "Divine" or "Prophetical Books," and is to be compared with the use of the word "Poet" for Homer by Greek writers.

That all existing copies of the Hebrew Old Testament are ultimately derived from one is proved by the *puncta extraordinaria*, or points placed above certain letters to indicate that those letters should be *expunged*. This inference (first drawn, it would appear, by Lagarde) commends itself at once to any one who is familiar with MSS. If, then, we could discover when the process of expunging was invented, we should have a *terminus a quo* for this copy. For this it is worth while observing that the word *expunge* is Latin, and refers properly to an operation performed with the Roman pen, the *stylus*. The earliest context in which it is apparently found is a place in Plautus, where it is applied to the erasion of the name of a soldier from a roll,[2] an operation for which both the

[1] Ecclus. xxiv.

[2] Compare Jahn on Persius, p. 122.

Hebrew and Greek languages use a word meaning "to wipe out"; *pricking* out would be done with a stylus on a tablet of wax. The single point, then, by which erasion is indicated is symbolic of this process, and must have come from Italy to Greece and Palestine. The word used by the Rabbis for "pointing" means originally "cleaning"; it is derived from a Syriac adjective which means "pure," "clean." This, again, seems to come from an Arabic verb, which means "to discriminate," "select." The process, then, which we call "pointing," originally meant "purifying," and was done by putting points above unnecessary letters, and inserting in a minute hand others that had been omitted. The former process gives its name to *expunging* in Latin, but not in Greek or Hebrew, and is connected with purely Italian processes. Therefore, it cannot have come to Palestine before Latin influence waxed strong, *i.e.*, before about 60 B.C. Hence all our copies of the Old Testament are derived from one that is not earlier than 60 B.C.

A fast in the Jewish calendar which commemorates the burning of the law by Apostomus confirms the hypothesis that at some time the copies of the law were reduced to one. Who was this Apostomus? The name appears to be Latin, Postumus or Postumius. The Persian calendar[1] calls him "king of the Greeks," which may be an error for "Romans."

That it could be possible to destroy all the existing copies of the Hebrew Bible, when the Jews were scattered over so many countries, seems surprising. But then we probably have no means of telling in what number such copies existed. If, however, the burning of the law by Postumus was an event worth celebrating by a yearly fast, it must clearly have been a very serious misfortune; and this would not have been the case had

[1] See next chapter.

it been possible to replace the law easily. The inference suggests itself that the restoration of the law, which followed this catastrophe, was the occasion on which the negative fixing of the Canon, of which the Talmud retains a tradition, took place.

The meaning of the "extraordinary points" and hanging letters was unknown to the Talmudists, who assign ridiculous explanations to them, to which references are faithfully given by many of those German commentators from whom we fancy we can learn criticism. So hard is it for mankind to be really *critical*, *i.e.* to gather the wheat into their garners, and allow the chaff to burn away.

The purpose of this sketch of literary history is to secure our lines of communication in dealing with the Old Testament as the preparation for the New. That we possess the Old Testament in a partially anti-Christian recension is shown by the name *Jehoshua*; that interpolation must be after the time of Justin, who bases an argument against a Jew on the occurrence of the name *Jesus* in the Pentateuch, but earlier than Jerome. And yet even in Justin's time the Jews were charged with anti-Christian alterations. This fact excites suspicion where arguments based on passages of the Old Testament are, according to our present text, futile. The process of deliberately falsifying evidence in order to avoid a painful conclusion does not commend itself as either honest or intelligent; but he knows little of human nature who supposes that less than 99 per cent. of mankind would resort to it if tempted.

Secondly, some reason must be given for the fact that the interpretation of the Bible current among the Jews before Seadyah's time is (as is generally agreed) worthless. It is to be found in the rule that the writing of traditions was forbidden. If we consider what confusion and obscurity have been brought into the history of Islam

by 120 years of oral tradition, what the effect of 800 years of it among the Jews would be may be conjectured. The grammatical sense fails the Talmudists altogether. Where they come across unusual words, they interpret them according to the language of the country in which they happen to be residing.[1] Words in the Old Testament are thus interpreted as Coptic and Greek; some one in Persia hears the word *shighāl* ("jackal"), and, coming across the Hebrew *sheghāl* ("queen")—Nehemiah ii. 6—thinks it may be this Persian word. The endeavours made by many writers to get history out of the Jewish books are absolute failures; the sense of chronology is as much lost as that of philology.

The scientific study of the Old Testament among the Jews begins with Seadyah, or a little earlier. That the Arabic language was the best possible source for Hebrew grammar and lexicography is certain; but the chain of circumstances which led the Mohammedans to provide the Jews with both is so remarkable that it may well be termed providential. The Jews would, in any case, have explained words they did not know from the language of the country in which they had taken up their abode; since Arabic happened to be the real source of those words, the explanation of the Bible at last had fallen on ground where it could thrive. Seadyah began by translating the Old Testament into Arabic. The probability is that he utilized previous translations made by Christians from Syriac or Coptic; so that here was another gate by which Christian glosses came into Jewish books.

What, however, is a more interesting subject for speculation is this: Until Jewish history merges in Biblical history,

[1] Theodoret, *Quæstt.* in Gen. lxi.: "You can nowhere find Hebrew children speaking Hebrew, but only the language of the country in which they happen to be born" (fifth century).

so far back as it can be traced, *originality* seems absolutely to fail the race. All their non-Biblical literature is borrowed (at any rate in form) from Mohammedans or Christians; their idea of a canon from Greeks; their pointing MSS. for different purposes from Romans and Syrians. In some of these matters they appear able to outdo those from whom they borrow. The counting of letters and the arranging of dots, the Kabbalah and the Tradition, are thought by mankind to be peculiarly Jewish, but all these things have come to the Jews from others. And if we consider what the Bible tells us about them, we should expect that this would be so. The desire of Israel appears to be to resemble others. Other nations have a king, so they want a king. The fact that the institution is not altogether desirable does not count. Other nations are idolatrous, whence they display an unreasoning attachment to idolatry; no amount of preaching is of avail. How are we to reconcile with this most patent want of originality the extraordinary phenomenon of such a race having produced a literature which, after having once taken its place at the head of the literature of the world, has no intention of quitting that post? The lost literatures that come to light rarely have any value of their own. Egypt and Assyria produced monuments which were long lost, but now are found and deciphered. Who reads them, except out of mere curiosity, or to aid him in some other study? Indian literature is now as easy of access as Greek; but who cares for it? One or two isolated morsels, perhaps, are known beyond professional circles, but nothing else. The Bible itself explains this problem by the theory that the best of Israelitish literature was communicated to its authors from *without*—that it was the result of special favours conferred on privileged members of the race. "Men spake as they were moved." The nation which of itself could do nothing for science or philosophy, which could not observe and could

not experiment, which could not compile a grammar nor invent a metre, produced the books which, owing to the profundity of their contents, "the first man did not fully know, and the last man has not sounded to the bottom." Truly this is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes.

It is not altogether fair to expect of the Jews in dependence the qualities which they exhibited when independent, if that be the epithet to apply to an oriental monarchy. But, as Pindar well says, even if you cut down an oak, it is still an oak; though it be sawn for a pillar or burnt on the hearth, it is still the king of trees. For whatever purpose it be employed, the great qualities of the wood show themselves. The Athenians of St. Paul's time have still the intellectual keenness of the Athenians of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. From being the University of Hellas, Athens has become the University of the world. The singular purity with which the Jewish race maintains itself does much to eliminate the factor which in the case of all the modern representatives of ancient races has cut away the ground for such an argument. If we fail to find in the Greeks of to-day the qualities of the Greeks of old, the explanation is to be sought in the paucity of Hellenic blood in the former. But if race count for anything, there is no reason for supposing that since the first exile the Jews have mingled with other races in such a manner as would seriously alter the national qualities.

That the great gifts which members of the race once possessed did not disappear with the first Captivity is certain; some post-exilian matter got into the Canon; and though Ben-Sira could not be called a prophet, there are passages in his book which are worthy of a writer of the first class. It seems, however, clear that these gifts were not *racial*, but isolated. The Israelites were not like the Greeks, whose intellectual ability was such as to cause the

word "clever" to be naturally associated with their name. But to particular individuals extraordinary powers were granted, which they could neither communicate nor hand down, and the very form of which they could not lucidly explain. Hence what they produced differed from the productions of other races more in kind than in quality, and its efficiency for the purpose of evolution has been proportionately great. The descent from the Old Testament to the Mishnah is, in consequence, steeper than that from the greatest of the Greek poets to the feeblest, or from the most brilliant of the productions of India to the least tolerable. And the underlying fact is that the value of the former is due to the presence in it of a factor which the intellectual capital of the race did not provide. The literature produced by the race unaided wanted that antiseptic, and also showed but a small measure of the gifts whence mankind has derived its stores of philosophy and science.

D. S. Margoliouth.

SINGLENESS OF VISION.

(Matt. vi. 22, 23; Luke xi. 33–36.)

The difficulty which the passage in Matthew's Gospel has long presented to most readers and students of the New Testament arises from the fact that hitherto it has been the custom to regard it as a somewhat obscure simile. It is maintained that the terms of the analogy are very incompletely expressed,—that given the statement that the eye is the lamp of the body and the source of its light, it is left to the ingenuity and to the common and religious sense of the reader to discover the other member of the simile from the slight indications given in the passage itself. We can easily understand how such liberty of interpretation results in many strange and diverse discoveries among exegetes, and

how those who are lacking in the power of imagination and who have no expository gifts class this as a dark saying of even the clearest of teachers. We think that there has been too much of the figurative discovered in these words of Jesus. In our opinion there is no simile here but only a metaphor, which is expressed in the opening sentence: ὁ λύχνος τοῦ σώματός ἐστιν ὁ ὀφθαλμός. That metaphor is continued right through the passage. The functions of a lamp in a house are ascribed to the eye of the body, and hence is derived a lesson with reference to the moral and religious significance of ordinary vision. The whole may be termed Christ's saying concerning singleness of vision. When we consider the passage from this standpoint, we find that many of its hard sayings become plain, and some of its difficulties are at once removed.

We naturally commence with a consideration of the word ἁπλοῦς. An expositor's arrangement of the passage depends upon the way in which he interprets this word. It is the central difficulty about which all explanations work and around which they form themselves. It is a word denoting moral attributes, and its application in all Greek literature is confined almost exclusively to the sphere of ethical qualities, except when it is used to denote purely numerical singularity. Yet here in the second sentence ἁπλοῦς is applied to the physical organ of sight, ἐὰν οὖν ᾖ ὁ ὀφθαλμός σου ἁπλοῦς. Confronted with this difficulty expositors have apparently followed one of two courses. On the one hand they have strained the meaning of ἁπλοῦς so as to make it signify "good," "fulfilling its office," "sound." Thus one side of the simile becomes fully stated: the body's lamp is the eye; if the eye is healthy, the body is full of light; if the eye is diseased, the body is full of darkness. But the other member of the simile is entirely wanting. Any one reading this passage thus would understand it clearly enough, but would naturally ask, "What is it meant

to teach?" It is with a strange suddenness that the concluding remark is launched upon him, *εἰ οὖν τὸ φῶς τὸ ἐν σοὶ σκότος ἐστί, τὸ σκότος πόσον*; there is a great blank of meaning between the sentence we have just paraphrased, and this final one. The latter evidently deals with a moral truth, the former with a physical fact, and there is nothing to connect the two. We may well maintain that this interpretation of *ἁπλοῦς* brings us to a far from satisfactory issue. On the other hand, some have adhered to the strictly moral meaning of *ἁπλοῦς*, "simple" and so "sincere." They have thus been obliged to maintain that in the second sentence the two members of the simile have become confusedly entangled. There we find *ὁ ὀφθαλμός* and *τὸ σῶμα* belonging to one member of the simile, while *ἁπλοῦς* belongs to the other. Thus is presented the very difficult task of discovering the subject of *ἁπλοῦς*, in which task the only help given in the passage itself is to be found in the fact that the application of the word *ἁπλοῦς* is limited. It is because *ἁπλοῦς* is so often used to qualify a man's purpose and aim that some have completed the simile with one of these as the eye of the soul. But it is evident how by this method a dozen different subjects might easily be found, and the passage made to teach a dozen different lessons. To build up thus a mass of interpretation on a single word is hardly legitimate exposition. We consider that the difficulty is self-illuminative. It is by a frank recognition of it, not by trying to smooth it away, that we reach the solution. Expositors have strained the meaning either of *ἁπλοῦς*, the term denoting moral attributes, or of *ὀφθαλμός*, the physical organ of sense, in order to remove the incongruity of the application of the one to the other. But is it quite impossible for us to accept the difficulty as it stands? Is the application of moral good and evil to the eyesight of man an altogether impossible conception? Does not sin actually affect a man's vision?

The image on the retina is, of course, the same in the case of every man. But that does not mean that every man sees the same objects. As Carlyle says in another connection, "To Newton and to Newton's dog Diamond, what a different pair of universes; while the painting on the optical retina of both was, most likely, the same." If sin does not cloud the image on the retina of the eye, does it not most certainly cloud the image on the retina of the mind? A saintly man, who has enjoyed the blessing of communion with God for many years, will see things in the world that a debauchee will never see. The same picture is on the retina of the eyes of both men, but the mind will record it in the one and not in the other. So we can understand how, among an unscientific people, totally incapable of making a distinction between the physical and the psychical, the Master might very well speak of a man's eye being good or evil in a moral sense, thereby drawing attention to the way in which sin can contaminate even the faculty of seeing. In fact, the difficulty we have been discussing is but the shadow on the page of words of the great mystery that ever confronts us when we enter the borderland between the physical and the psychical. When we recognise the topic with which the Master was dealing and the character of the people to whom He was speaking, we are not surprised when we find in the choice and setting of His words something strange to our ideas and difficult for us to understand. Jesus talking in popular fashion to an audience totally uneducated as far as all natural science went, applied the term ἁπλοῦς to the organ of sight. We should apply it to the faculty of vision, and technically should be more correct in so doing. But the Master's meaning was evident to those to whom He actually spoke, and is evident to us to-day. Just as a man's tongue may become evil, so that it is an easy thing for him to talk hypocritically, to pray on the Sunday and to lie in the

week-time, or so that he becomes "double-tongued"; so also a man's eye may become evil and lose that singleness that is proper to it, so that he will take one view of the world and of his fellow-men amid the religious influences of the Sabbath, and quite another and a different one in the warehouse and in the office. Is not this the defect that accounts for that terrible want of consistency that is so often deplored in connection with the Christian Church? Singleness of vision is as important as singleness of speech, singleness of eye as important as singleness of tongue.

Another difficulty confronts us in the meaning of the word *σῶμα*. Either we must take *σῶμα* in *vv.* 22*b* and 23 in a purely symbolical sense as representing the soul or the heart of man, or else we must recognise that the term denoting "body" suggested much more to Christ's hearers than it does to us. The former course is beset about with difficulties. We may give to the first sentence its most natural meaning, *ὁ λύχνος τοῦ σώματός ἐστιν ὁ ὀφθαλμός*, *i.e.* the lamp that belongs to the body, sheds light as it were outwards, is the eye, and we may interpret *σῶμα* in the passage in which Christ speaks of the body being filled with light as representing the soul. But in that case where does the analogy come in? The whole saying would be thus developed: "The lamp of the body is the eye; if, therefore, thine eye is healthy, such and such a result will ensue. The lamp of the soul is its life aim; if, therefore, thine aim is single, thy whole soul shall be full of light." But what is the result that ensues when the eye of the body is healthy? Till that question is answered the simile remains incomplete. And to us the answer seems difficult indeed to find. But we have the other alternative on which to fall back. Is it necessary for us to believe that *σῶμα* would bear exactly the same significance for Christ's hearers as it does for us? Again we would remind ourselves that Christ was talking to the uneducated

people of an unscientific age. When the Master uttered the saying, "The lamp of the body is the eye," what would be the idea conveyed to the mind of the "man in the street," if we may use such an expression in this connection? Surely it would remind him of a very ordinary experience. Let him close his eyes and there is darkness, not darkness in the world, for he has only to open them again to find the world full of light, but darkness in *his* world, in himself, in his body, for so in his unspiritual, material fashion would he think. In fact, we are driven to the conclusion, and a very reasonable conclusion it seems to be when all the circumstances of the occasion are taken into account, that by σῶμα Christ did not simply mean the physical body of flesh and bone, but also the subjective phenomena of the mind, which latter the unreasoning, unscientific popular thought of the day would not have separated from the former. This wider significance of σῶμα may be adhered to all through the passage, and there is then no need to interpret it in any but a literal sense. Singleness of vision is considered in its relation to a man's individual world, a man's σῶμα.

There is another difficulty of which our suggested interpretation of the passage offers a solution. The expression "ὀφθαλμός πονηρὸς" is a strange one. It is quite possible to translate it "an unhealthy, diseased eye," but in that case it does not constitute an opposite in any way to "a single eye"; the two expressions belong to different spheres entirely, and cannot be contrasted. The strict opposite to "single" is, of course, "double" or "many," but such a term applied to the organ of sight would not only be awkward, but it would fail to express the Master's meaning as accurately as πονηρὸς does. It is the operation of sin in the matter that Christ wishes to emphasize. The condition of the injured organ might have been described by some other word, but by none that would have so well suggested how

sin can attack and impair even the outmost gates into the soul, the very senses themselves.

The final difficulty is in the concluding sentence of the passage, *εἰ οὖν τὸ φῶς τὸ ἐν σοὶ σκότος ἐστί, τὸ σκότος πόσον*; How is this exclamation to be expounded? We are bewildered by the violent paradox it contains. Many seek to escape from the difficulty by adopting a symbolical interpretation of the expression *τὸ φῶς*. It represents, so they say, the guiding principle of a man's soul, the purpose according to which his whole life is ordered. If this, which ought to be a guiding light, be really darkness, how great will the darkness of the soul be! But we see no need to resort to the symbolical interpretation of this word. Such interpretation seems to rob the Master's words of much of their rich suggestiveness and force. We will take *τὸ φῶς* as literally as possible. We have already referred to the idea aroused in the popular mind by the expression "The lamp of the body is the eye." The light, therefore, of the body's lamp is the faculty that the eye possesses of illuminating the world of our vision, so that everything is placed in its proper perspective and seen in its proper nature. It is by the organ of sight that we obtain that view of the outer world which determines so many of our actions and has so much to do with the ordering of our lives, and it is by the organ of sight that we obtain much of that knowledge which is as a light to guide and direct us even from the days of infancy. Now if a man's eye is evil, if singleness of vision is not his, what is the result? Why, the whole of his experience is contaminated. Though he may travel much and see much, all his seeing will profit him nothing. The very light that does enter the man's eye is really no light at all, it has none of the properties of light, it will not enlighten him. His increased experience, the many things and men he has seen, may make a better business man of him, may make a plea-

sant companion of him, but as far as his soul is concerned it will remain in the densest darkness. Whilst his way of looking at things is evil, stricken by sin, there is nothing else but darkness for him. Whilst the Prince of Darkness stands guard at the gate of the soul no ray of light can enter therein. Let not such a man talk about culture and education and enlightenment. His is doubleness of vision. Then the light that is in him, the light of observation, experience, education, is, as far as the soul is concerned, darkness, it affords no real guidance at all. And till that be corrected and the man learn to view all things in the proper way, that darkness will be at its densest.

In an obscure and difficult passage like this much help may be obtained towards its interpretation by a reference to the context. These words of the Master are reported in two out of four gospels, and some difficulty will be caused at first by the fact that the context in Matthew differs entirely from the context in Luke. Here we may be permitted an expression of opinion with respect to such divergencies in the Gospels. To the historian it is of supreme importance that he should determine which account gives the correct order of events. To the expositor it is not of so much importance. We take this particular passage as an instance. We will suppose that we have come to the conclusion that Luke gives us the actual sequence of events and Matthew does not. Must we therefore regard the context in Matthew as of no importance? By no means. It is nearly, if not quite, of as great importance as Luke's. Its importance consists in this fact, that it gives to us the opinion of the early Christian Church, of the apostles and evangelists, concerning the exact meaning of the passage. No one can conceive for a moment that the sayings of Jesus were thrown together anyhow by the first narrators of the Gospel story. If certain passages were gathered in one group, then there must have been something in their con-

tents to warrant it. Hence their very connection gives to us some idea of the opinion of the original compilers concerning their meaning, Most of us will allow that the contemporaries of Jesus, after receiving the gift of the Spirit of Truth, were much more likely to have a correct understanding of the meaning of the Master's words than we are, and that their opinion of the particular interpretation of any saying of His is well worth obtaining, and is probably a fair representation of the mind of the Master Himself. Thus a fourfold Gospel, in which some of the sayings of Jesus occur in different connections, is a help unto the interpretation of those sayings rather than a hindrance. It gives not only the historical context, but also, indirectly, the interpretation of the early Christian Church, and we have two witnesses from whom to receive evidence concerning the meaning of our Lord's words where otherwise we should have had only one.

We do not therefore propose to determine whether Matthew or Luke gives to us in this particular instance the actual course of events and order of sayings. We will examine the context of each Evangelist, and from such examination try to obtain fresh help for the interpretation of this passage. The context in Matthew's Gospel is very interesting. The words we are considering are preceded by what we may call a sermon to rich men, and are followed by a sermon to poor men. The passage is thus intimately connected with the Master's treatment of our relation to material wealth. And in what more suitable connection could it be found? One of the most difficult lessons that the Church has to learn is this, to take the right view of the riches of the world. Doubleness of vision is more often illustrated in connection with wealth than in connection with anything else. Both rich and poor constantly fail to see wealth as Christ saw it. There are few even of the best men who are not more or less dazzled by it. They

can see the holiness of things divine, the greatness of eternity, the grandeur of the gospel, the solemnity of death, the empty vanity of the world's show, the worth of character, but too often when they come to deal actually with worldly wealth they seem to view it with other eyes entirely. When we consider that these words were addressed in the first instance to Jews, men most notorious for two things—their religious claims and profession and their love of money—how appropriate they are in this context! This doubleness of vision was one of the rich Pharisees' worst hypocrisies.

When we turn to Luke's Gospel, we find that certain remarks concerning the people's desire for a sign precede this passage, and that it is followed by the narrative of Christ breakfasting with a Pharisee. The latter we may consider as having no connection with the words which form the special object of our study. But the relation between signs and seeing is evident to any one. In the 29th and three following verses of the eleventh chapter of St. Luke's Gospel the Master is finding fault with the lack of the right kind of vision that there was among the people of His time. They could see no signs in the apparently commonplace men about them, no signs in the world of the natural and human. They could only see signs in that which was startling and supernatural and wonderfully unique. Their eyesight was double. They viewed religious events and persons in a totally different way from that in which they viewed the ordinary things and men of life. If they had brought their religious eyesight to bear on life's commonplaces, they would have seen what they wanted to see. In all this they were a complete contrast to the men of Nineveh and to the Queen of Sheba. To the one, Jonah, a man like themselves, was a sign; to the other, Solomon, an earthly monarch, was a sign. If the significance of the passage is to be grasped, the name in

the 30th verse, "the Son of man," must be comprehended in the fulness of its meaning. It is the human Jesus, Man among men, who is to be a sign to His generation. Those who can see nothing wonderful in the human will see nothing wonderful in Him. With this interpretation of these verses before us we see how fitting it was that a passage concerning signs should be followed by a passage concerning seeing. To Jesus the two were always indissolubly connected.[1]

To bring a somewhat lengthy discussion to a close. We maintain that three pleas may be urged for the suggested exposition of the passage. Firstly, that it is the least forced of any. It does not arrive at the meaning of Christ's sayings by importing anything into them, but rather by developing them unto their natural and proper issue. Secondly, that it makes the meaning of various sentences in the passage much more clear and free from difficulty. Lastly, that it makes context and text mutually helpful in explaining one another.

A. T. Burbridge.

HISTORICAL COMMENTARY ON THE EPISTLES TO THE CORINTHIANS.

The attempt made by Prof. Findlay, in the Expositor for June, p. 401 ff., to restore the terms of the letter addressed by the Corinthian Church to St. Paul, has proved exceedingly useful in studying the Apostle's reply. I had often wished that some one would have the courage to

[1] The remark in verse 33, immediately preceding the passage in Luke xi., may be thus briefly interpreted. No man hides a lamp away, but his object in lighting it is to give light and to give light continuously in the house. A lighted lamp not used, but hidden away, is a bit of foolishness. Let a man having once lighted his lamp, having once learned to look on things, events, persons in the right way, in the light of God and of eternity, keep that light burning in a prominent place, not using it only on the Sabbath and hiding it away for the other days of the week.

undertake the task, which is one that I felt my own inability to perform; and it would not be easy to find any person to whom one would have more gladly entrusted the difficult task. That it should be achieved to the perfect satisfaction of every one is, of course, not to be expected. Probably Prof. Findlay's reconstruction will be improved in many points through subsequent study, both by the author himself and by others. But his work will be the firm substructure on which others will build. If in the following sections of these papers any additions or changes are proposed for Prof. Findlay's and the reader's consideration, it is hoped that they will be understood in the proper light, as tokens of gratitude for the help gained from the reconstruction.

XXV. Marriage and the Divine Life.

In writing to a community of recent converts from heathenism, St. Paul's expression was necessarily controlled and guided throughout by the consideration of what should be most easily intelligible to them. He was not composing a formal religious or philosophical treatise, where the writer might aim at an ideally complete and philosophically clear exposition. He was writing about immediate practical needs to persons whose views and power of understanding were strongly affected by their past experience as Pagans, and it was useless to write except as they could understand.

Paul would never have been the great teacher of the Gentiles, unless he had been in complete sympathy with them, unless he had been perfectly conscious of their needs and how to meet them, unless he had been perfectly able to drive home his ideas into their minds. That does not imply that he could make all the thoughts and sentiments and truths of this Epistle perfectly intelligible to all the Corinthians. On the contrary, there were in all his

Epistles many things that none of his readers would understand at the moment, some that they would probably never come to understand fully. There were probably even things that he himself did not fully understand in all their bearings as he wrote them,[1] things truer than even he knew, things which he saw dimly with the prophet's eye, and could not measure precisely with the philosopher's intelligence.

But still, Paul always had his audience clear before him. He was writing in each case a letter to a definite group of persons in a definite situation, and he wrote with a view to their powers of comprehending what he said. We cannot doubt that he often chose a mode of expression because it was specially suited to the comprehension of this particular group of persons, and that he would have selected a different expression to a group in another quarter of the world.[2] We should therefore never lose sight of the audience which he had in mind. We should always ask what meaning they would be likely to take from the words used; and if we can satisfy ourselves that they would naturally have taken the words of Paul in a certain way, we may be confident that Paul must have foreseen their understanding. It does not follow, of course, that the meaning which they would naturally take from his words was all that lay in them; but at least it was within Paul's consciousness as he wrote.

That men and women should devote themselves, at least occasionally for a short time, to the "divine life," separating themselves from the ordinary life of society during that period, was a common practice in the ancient world. That some should devote themselves permanently to that life in the divine service was also an accepted fact in all the more enthusiastic and deep kinds of religion. The prophets among the Hebrews, and "they that abode for ever before

[1] Compare *Hist. Comm. on Galatians*, p. 387. [2] *Op. cit.* p. 342 f.

the Lord," [1] had their analogues in the pagan cults. But religions differed widely in their conception of the sphere and character of "the divine life." In some of the pagan forms of religion the divine life was one which, from our point of view, was lower morally even than the low standard of ordinary pagan society,[2] and yet it was often from real religious devotion that people consecrated themselves, temporarily or permanently, to such life.

The Corinthian converts, therefore, were quite conversant with the idea that individuals might temporarily or permanently arrange their life, not according to the common rules and practices incumbent on the majority of human beings in society, but according to a special rule of service to the Divine will. They would easily and naturally take the further step, and realize that the rules of Christian service would be very different from those which they had known in their pagan days. They would then desire to understand what were the Christian rules of service.

But, on the other hand, the people of Corinth were not an Oriental race with an almost infinite capacity and yearning for the more enthusiastic and self-forgetting forms of religious sentiment. They were partly dominated by the practical, hard, matter-of-fact Roman spirit; but still more they were Greek in character, with a natural temperament which loved clear scientific definition and gracefully ordered expression in action and in language,[3] which was so unfavourable to anything like extravagance or enthusiasm or disorderliness in religion as to be fatal even to vitality and reality in it. I do not mean that the Greeks were as a race

[1] 1 Sam. i. 22, 28.

[2] *Hist. Comm. Gal.*, pp. 38, 40, 201 f.; *Church in the Rom. Emp.*, p. 397 f.

[3] This is not inconsistent with their weakness as a law-making and law-abiding race. Where they failed was not in disinclination to law, but in unwillingness to accept law imposed from without; the individual right to be a law to himself was too much emphasized in the Greek mind; even the law of the city was liable to seem an outrage on the freedom of each individual to carry out his own conception of order and law.

non-religious. No race is. Time after time in Greek history the craving of human nature for religion favoured the introduction of Oriental forms of worship; but in every case the Greek character gradually toned down the Oriental fervour and self-forgettingness of the new cult, smoothed away its excesses, lightened its spirit, imparted order, regularity, harmony, artistic character to its natural free exuberance, and ended by depriving it of vital power, so that the same process of introduction, assimilation, and destruction was soon free to begin in respect of another fresh Oriental cult.

The pressure exercised on St. Paul by the character of the people whom he was addressing is specially strongly marked in the chapter in which he replies to their questions about marriage. He is, of course, only answering questions, not propounding a general view as to the nature of the marriage relation and its place in religion and life; and what he has to say is to some extent limited by that fact. But still there is observable often in the chapter a pragmatical and commonplace character, a restriction of the view to mere details, a want of life and warmth, and a poverty and dryness, which can be explained in a letter of Paul's only by the necessity of adapting his explanations to the power of understanding in his audience.

In the chapter now before us it is apparent that "the divine life" is much in Paul's mind, and that in many sentences he is thinking of the relation of marriage to the divine life. Is marriage consistent with the divine life, or favourable to it? The general impression which the chapter would convey to the Corinthians, undoubtedly, was that Christians who aimed at living "the divine life" might try whether they were able to rise above the need of marriage, and that those who devoted themselves for only a brief season to "the divine life" might separate themselves for the time from their consorts, with their consent,

in order to concentrate their undivided attention on "the things of God." But these are the exceptions which Paul makes to the general rule of marriage, which the Corinthians have been advocating, and which he tacitly accepts—with these exceptions. As in various other cases, the fact which fills the mind of both writer and reader is not expressly mentioned, just because it is so strongly present to his readers. See § XXVII.

But what is "the divine life"? It is obvious that Paul vibrates between two conceptions of "the divine life."

(1) In the mystic view, in which Paul commonly lived and moved and wrote, every Christian must be living the divine life, for he becomes a Christian only when Christ lives in him. The life of faith is the life of Christ, "the divine life"; and all true Christians, whatever be their outward position in the world, are equally living that life. In this more mystical view the marriage tie between two Christians is not inconsistent with "the divine life," for it is compared by St. Paul to the relation between Christ and the Church.[1] So far from either party to the marriage tie being a hindrance to the other in "the divine life," each is a help to the other: each, living for the other, is raised out of self, as the Church lives in Christ, and Christ in the Church.

Such is the spirit in Paul's letter to the Asian Churches (*Eph.* v. 22, 23). Such, too, seems to be the thought in his mind in the enigmatic words in a later part of the present Epistle (xi. 11): "Howbeit neither is the woman without the man, nor the man without the woman, in the Lord." In the previous verses the Apostle has been showing that man and woman are not two exactly similar and equal things:

[1] This view was the natural development in the Jewish mind. As Mr. Abrahams, *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages*, p. 86, says: "The Scriptures had used the relation of husband to wife as a type of God's relation to His world. Jewish mystics of the Middle Ages compared a man's love to God with a man's love for his wife." Probably no one that has any true sympathy with the Oriental mind could doubt that the Song of Solomon is an allegory, though the Western mind can hardly see it.

man is the primary, and woman the complementary, created to complete and perfect the primary, meaningless and purposeless without the primary. But, he adds in *v.* 11, the primary, man, also is equally imperfect without the complementary, woman, "in the Lord," *i.e.* in the divine life.[1] The divine life lies in the perfect realization of the nature of these complementary things through the mutual tie that binds them. If our view be right, then that sentence (xi. 11) may be paraphrased thus: "While woman is dependent on man, man equally is incomplete apart from woman, when they are regarded on the plane of the divine life."

To understand chap. vii. properly in its relation to Paul's thought, we must take it along with ix., or, rather, we must take it in connection with the living thought of the whole Epistle. It is characteristic of Paul's torrent-like pouring forth of his mind in a letter[2] that frequently in the present Epistle he does not exhaust, by a formal exposition, what he has to say on one topic before he passes to the next. The reader must go on to the end before he can fully gather Paul's mind on any of the questions that were put to him. To him they are all parts of one whole; each one works into the other; and he passes from one to the other as they touch one another. Thus, in x. 16-22, he begins to speak of the communion of the Christian with Christ, and his exposition rises to a higher plane. He becomes more immediately and presently conscious of "the divine life." He feels that some of the topics which he has already touched on require to be raised to this loftier plane in order that their full significance may be set before the Corinthians. In x. 23–33 he resumes the topic of chap. viii., and in xi. 3–16 he resumes the topic of chap. vii. He shows how the mystic idea of "the divine life" must be taken into account before

[1] Did St. Paul conceive the analogy as perfect? Was the Church to him the complement of Christ, essential to the realization of His nature?

[2] *Hist. Comm. Gal.*, p. 474.

either topic can be properly seen. Then he takes up again and completes the subject begun in x. 16–22.

(2) In chap. vii. the thought of "the divine life" is present in a more commonplace, non-mystic form. The immediate practical fact—which doubtless was involved in some of the questions addressed to him by the Corinthians—was that the life and occupations of the various members of a Christian congregation varied much, and that some had their minds more fully occupied with the actual ordinary business of life, while others turned their attention more to the work of the Church. It is clear from other passages in the Epistle that this diversity of duties caused a good deal of care and hesitation to the Corinthians, and filled some space in their letter. There was considerable competition in Church service, and some argument as to the comparative importance and honour of the various duties (xii. 4 ff.). Already at this early stage the broad distinction was becoming clear in Corinth between ordinary business and Church work—of course not, as yet, between clergy and laity (which distinction was much later in growing up), but rather between work for the common good and work for private interest. The distinction arose naturally among Greek or Roman citizens: it was the obvious and inevitable development of their previous ideas about the way of conducting societies and municipalities. The Corinthians, in putting their questions and suggestions to Paul, took the natural view that the work for the common good was among "the things of the Lord"—in short, was a branch of "the divine life"; while work for private interest was restricted to "the things of the world."

In the seventh chapter Paul moves on this lower plane of thought, as his readers required: he treats their questions on the same level on which they were conceived. Consequently the whole impresses the reader as lacking distinction and finality and philosophic clearness, and as

rather shrewdly practical and containing much good plain common sense. "He that is unmarried is careful for the things of the Lord, how he may please the Lord: but he that is married is careful for the things of the world, how he may please his wife." A saying like that is undeniable —on one side and in a certain considerable degree—but it is insufficient, it is disappointing, it touches sharply the weakness of human nature, and it touches nothing more —one might almost say, it approximates to the level of Lord Chesterfield's *Letters to his Son*.

Yet, in the struggling life of the young community of Corinth, it was unavoidable that these questions should emerge and should demand treatment in this practical, commonsense spirit. This chapter is a remarkable proof of the many-sidedness of St. Paul's nature, of his capacity for guiding his young Churches in every part of their life, of his intense practicality where the practical mind was needed. At the same time it is a remarkable proof of the danger of taking any passage of the Epistles by itself as a complete exposition instead of judging it in relation to the circumstances of the audience to which it was addressed. How misleading a conception we should gather of St. Paul's ideas on this subject, if we could not turn to other passages and compare them with this chapter!

It follows necessarily from the nature of Paul's letters that they insist most on what is lacking in his readers, that the writer tries to build up his readers, to complete their character, to lay stress on whatever is weakest in them. To the servile spirit of the Phrygians Paul emphasizes the importance of freedom; to the self-assertive and unruly spirit of the Greeks he emphasizes the need of obedience to laws and institutions and general principles of conduct;[1] to the Corinthians, who had suggested that compulsory marriage might be a useful thing in the Church,

[1] See *Hist. Comm. on Galatians*, § LIV.

and "gravely doubted whether a fixed condition of celibacy was right in itself and according to God's will for man," [1] he insisted on the inexpedience of enforcing marriage on all, and on the advantages that celibacy might offer, amid the practical difficulties of their situation in Corinth, to a certain limited number of persons. The Corinthians had referred to "the perils and suspicions [2] to which the unwedded were exposed" in Corinth. Paul replied that "in view of the straitness now imminent," the principle is justifiable "to be as one is,"—an enigmatic expression in the Greek,—for the time is shortened, and the day will soon come when all temporary distinctions shall be obliterated, when "the fashion of this world passeth away." It is remarkable that here marriage is ranked along with the merely ephemeral differences, such as comfort or misery, wealth or poverty. But wherever marriage is discouraged it is regarded on that lower level; where Pauls thinks of man in his relation to God, free from the shackles of sin, he sees marriage in the loftier aspect.

But, while we find the other side of Paul's thought in passages like 1 *Corinthians* xi. 11, *Ephesians* v. 23 ff., in the Pastoral Epistles we find much the same side as here in 1 *Corinthians* vii. There, as here, Paul is concerned with the practical needs of young and growing communities of Christians amid the society of Græco-Roman towns. It happens to be forced on him there to insist more on the positive side, and to urge the importance of marriage. The danger which he foresaw was "that in later times some shall fall away from the faith . . . forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats" (1 *Tim.* iv. 1 ff.). It was, therefore, just as necessary for his purpose to emphasize the

[1] See Prof. Findlay's restoration of their letter in EXPOSITOR, June, p. 404. See also EXPOSITOR, April, p. 287 f.

[2] On these suspicions see, *e.g.*, Lane in *Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians*, chap. vi. (below p. 300).

practical value of marriage in Christian society, as it is here to point out that individuals should be free to follow the bent of their own nature, if it leads them to avoid marriage and devote themselves to the "things of God." There, men and women are, on the whole, advised to marry once. Those who are to devote themselves to work in the congregation and among the poor as widows, or as deacons, or as bishops, will be all the better fitted for it by the experience of marriage, but are to avoid a second marriage. Hence the repeated and much discussed rule that all those class officials are to be "the wife of one man," or "the husband of one wife." But no reference is made to such officials as Apostles, Prophets, etc., who were not chosen by the Church, but marked out by the Divine will. Paul has them much in mind when he pleads to the Corinthians for the right of celibacy: his view is that, if God has put celibacy in their mind and nature, they should not be urged by Church rules (such as the Corinthians proposed) to marry. But, when he wrote to Timothy or Titus about the practical work of governing a Church, it was unnecessary to speak of those personages who lay outside the range of ordinary government.

We see thus the essential identity of the teaching on this subject of St. Paul in all his Epistles, in spite of apparent differences, due to his emphasizing most the part that was most needed for his immediate purpose. In one respect only there is any development or change, and that is in the principle that those who are to engage in the practical or administrative work of the congregation, male or female, as bishops (*i.e.* presbyters), deacons, or "widows," ought to be married, but should not be a second time married. But, while this does differ from the views expressed in 1 Corinthians vii., the development is an easy one. The experience of married life is regarded as an aid in the practical working of Christian society. But there is nothing to show that

Paul ever came to regard it as an aid to the prophet, or the teacher, or the speaker with tongues in the congregation. On the contrary, there is every appearance that in those callings, which may more truly be described as "the divine life," the teaching of 1 *Corinthians* vii. continued till the end of his life.

In vii. 17 Paul asserts the identity of his teaching in all his Churches. The assertion applies, in the first place, only to the principle that every one should accept the lot in which he is placed—the principle which he could never utter too strongly. Here he devotes 17–24 to a very full and emphatic statement of it. But, in a secondary sense, it applies to his whole teaching. Rightly understood, it was the same everywhere. *Acts* xiv. 23 and xvi. 4 are to be applied to all his later Churches.

XXVI. Apologia pro Vita Sua.

Before passing from this subject I may refer again to one point in regard to which further thought has changed my view. The view was stated above in § XXIII. (May, p. 383 f.), that, while very little of the supposed evidence really bore on the point, the Corinthians would hardly have ventured to suggest to Paul that all Christians should marry, if he himself had never been married. This view seems to me now to be a mistake, and this chapter appears hardly quite fully intelligible except on the supposition that Paul had never been married. If I now alter the view formerly expressed with hesitation (see p. 384), it is evident that at least I had no prejudice in favour of the view which is now stated here.

It is not that I think the interpretation of vii. 7 which is given on page 384 is incorrect or doubtful. It still seems necessary. Also the interpretation of vii. 8 as referring to "unmarried" persons in general (not restricted to "widowers," as many think) still appears to me to furnish

no argument bearing on this question. It is true that the advice given them to "abide even as I" cannot be taken as exactly parallel to "were even as I myself" in the previous verse. In vii. 7 St. Paul speaks of permanent personal nature and character; but in *v.* 8 the word "abide" shows this to be impossible. When the unmarried are advised to "abide even as I," the alternative is clearly implied that they might, if they chose, cease to abide so and change their condition. Hence the idea in Paul's mind is a changeable fact, not a permanent and unalterable quality of nature. The meaning must therefore be, "I say to the unmarried and to widows, it is a way of life worthy of all respect to remain without a consort (as I myself do)." But that affords no distinct criterion for deciding the question: Paul could equally well say that whether he were celibate or widower.

The decisive consideration seems to be in two arguments. The first is founded on ix. 5, where Paul claims that he has as full a right to be accompanied by a wife when he goes round his Churches as the rest of the Apostles. If he had been a widower, his words would imply that he is maintaining his right to marry a second wife, but it seems more in keeping with his character that, in that case, he should have given a different form to his retort. It is a reasonable retort to say, "I have every right to marry, and take about a wife with me, like the other Apostles," while the readers know from chap. vii. what were his reasons for remaining unmarried. But it seems a somewhat tasteless and unsuitable retort, if his wife was dead, to say, "I have every right to marry a second wife."

But, if this be too subjective or hypercritical, the next argument seems much stronger.

The second consideration lies in the relation of chap. ix. to the preceding. The strength with which Paul there asserts his rights as against the other Apostles seems

hardly explicable, unless it were called forth by something in the Corinthians' letter which he felt to be a slight. The reference to his own example in viii. 13 leads on naturally to the assertion of his right to be a model to them; but it does not explain the tone of the assertion, which is distinctly that of defence against attack or disrespect. Now there is not the slightest appearance either in viii. or in x. 23–33 that the remarks or questions of the Corinthians about meats contained anything which could be so construed. Paul answers in such a way as to show that their questions were sensible, well-conceived, and practical; while his reply is entirely in the line of explanation and defence of the teaching of the Apostles generally on the subject,[1] not of difference from them in any respect. Yet he goes off immediately afterwards into a vindication of his rights over against the other Apostles. That becomes explicable only when we bear in mind that in their questions about marriage the Corinthians, tacitly or explicitly, had contrasted St. Paul's conduct with that of the other Apostles, and had indicated their view that the other Apostles had taken the course which Christians ought to follow. ix. 1 resumes the topic of vii. (see p. 293).

Now, though to our modern ways of thinking, such a difference of opinion may seem too unimportant to rouse any feeling on either side, yet, if we judge by what is the best modern representative of the old Jewish opinion on the subject, viz., Mohammedan and especially Arab opinion, we shall find that Paul must always have been sensitive on this subject. Lane, in the passage referred to above, p. 296, mentions that his neighbours in one quarter of Cairo would not permit him to live there because he had no wife with him; and that in another quarter, where the people were less strict, they were constantly urging him to make himself respectable by marrying; and the advice was

[1] See Section XXVIII.

not jocular, but given in all seriousness. Mr. Abrahams, in his *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages*[1] speaks very strongly of Jewish ideas on this subject (though his words refer to a later time, yet they are not untrue of earlier times): the rabbi was expected and even compelled to marry, and hence his "home became at once the centre of a bright, cultured circle, and the model which other homes imitated."

So strong must this compelling force have been in St. Paul's time that some modern scholars have even maintained that he must necessarily have been married. That is not justifiable, however, for his point of view was not wholly unknown in Jewish circles. As my friend, Prof. Paterson, pointed out to me,[2] "Rabbi Asai took no wife: my soul, said he, cleaves to the Law, let others see to the upbuilding of the world."

Moreover, it is evident that Paul was often accused by his Jewish opponents of being a Sadducee, or no better than a Sadducee. Hence, when he was brought before the Sanhedrin in Jerusalem, his first words were directed to disprove that charge. "I am a Pharisee, and the son of a Pharisee."[3] Now, celibacy was a Roman practice, and the unmarried Jew exposed himself to the charge of imitating Roman manners like a Sadducee.[4] In that age the charge was annoying and even serious.

In the circumstances one can understand why Paul was touched on a sore point by the Corinthian question, whether it would not be advisable that all Christians should be married like the Apostles and the Jews generally. Incidentally it may be added that one desiderates in Prof.

[1] See pp. 91, 131.

[2] He quotes the words (from Weber, *Jud. Theol.*, p. 30) in Hastings' *Dict. Bib.*, art. "Marriage," iii. p. 266.

[3] *Acts* xxiii. 3; compare *Philippians* iii. 6.

[4] On the charge of Sadduceeism brought against Paul there is much to say which needs a paper to itself.

Findlay's reconstruction of that part of the Corinthian letter to St. Paul some clearer expression contrasting him with the other Apostles.

If Paul chose celibacy, he must have done so while still a Jew, and there can hardly be any doubt that he chose from similar motives to Rabbi Asai. Much of chap. vii. reads like an expansion and wider application of the Rabbi's principle, especially *vv.* 29–34, where the obvious meaning is that marriage prevents the concentration of one's whole powers on "the divine life" and the things of the Lord. St. Paul, like Rabbi Asai, had resolved, even before he became a Christian, to devote himself to the work of God; and his conversion merely changed the direction of his activity and his conception of God's demands, but was not the first cause of his devotion. He believed, while he was persecuting the Christians, that he was as entirely concentrated on God's work as afterwards, when he had become a Christian.

And now, in writing to the Corinthians, he makes in chap. vii. his defence of his original choice. His defence throws a new light on his pre-Christian life, showing him "cleaving to the Law," and renouncing the ordinary life of society for his own conception of the divine life. This is a subject on which much remains to be said, but which is out of place here.

W. M. Ramsay.

"UNTO THE GREEKS FOOLISHNESS."

A STUDY IN EARLY APOLOGETIC.

When Christianity made its appearance, it was an age of scepticism and superstition often strangely mingled. Rome was the mistress of the world, and the ancient polytheism remained the official religion of the Empire. It still had its priests and temples, but it was the jest and scorn of reason-

able men. Only the ignorant multitude any longer believed the old mythology, and their credulity staggered at no legend of the gods, however absurd or revolting. Nor did the ancient religion suffice them. Every nation that was conquered by the Roman armies had its own superstitions; and these found their way to the Imperial City and were eagerly caught up by the credulous populace. Side by side with the temples of Jupiter and Venus stood those of the Oriental Cybele and the Egyptian Isis. While the credulity of the multitude thus ran riot, wise men sneered, and the Government looked on with indulgent complacence. "The various modes of worship," says Gibbon, in his epigrammatic way, "which prevailed in the Roman world, were all considered by the people as equally true; by the philosopher, as equally false; and by the magistrate, as equally useful."

By the cultured men of the period, Christianity was regarded as simply one of those multitudinous superstitions —not a problem to be investigated, but an extravagance to be laughed at; and it is both interesting and instructive to hear the opinions of such outsiders. Perhaps the most distinguished of them all was Lucian, the last of the great Greek writers. He was born about 130 A.D. at Samosata, a town on the Euphrates in the north of Mesopotamia. He has been styled "the Voltaire of the second century," but the comparison is singularly unfortunate. He was, indeed, a sceptic, and he plied the ancient polytheism with the artillery of satire and ridicule; but toward Christianity he never behaved himself unseemly. In the few passages where he alludes to it he speaks with a sort of contemptuous compassion, and his references to Jesus are almost reverential. "That great man," he says, "they still revere, who was crucified in Palestine because he introduced this new mystery into life." "Their first law-giver persuaded them that they are all brethren one of another, when once

they forsake and deny the Greek gods and worship their wise man, him who was crucified, and live according to his laws." Nowhere does Lucian make a jest of Christianity. He was an earnest, truth-loving, and kindly-natured man; and, while Christianity was but a foolish superstition in his eyes, it did not, like the religions of the heathen, offend his moral instincts or rouse his indignation. Indeed his treatment of it is an involuntary tribute to it; and who knows what might have been his attitude toward it had he known it better?

Not the least entertaining of his works is the *True History*. It is a remarkable coincidence that Lucian was on terms of intimate and affectionate friendship with the eclectic philosopher Celsus, the author of a brilliant attack upon Christianity which called forth an equally brilliant defence from Origen; and the title of Celsus's polemic was the *True Word*. It is interesting to think of the two friends comparing notes as they wrote, and sending forth their books under titles thus suggestive the one of the other. Lucian's work is not an attack upon Christianity, yet it contains at least two unmistakable satires on the Holy Scriptures which show what men of his stamp thought about the Bible in those days.

The *True History* is a book of travellers' tales after the manner of *Gulliver's Travels*. It is a broad farce, a good-humoured satire on tales of adventure from Homer's Odyssey down, especially professed histories which duped their readers with narratives of impossible marvels in distant lands. "Ktesias of Knidas described India and things there which he had neither seen himself nor heard tell of from another; and Iamboulos wrote many marvels about what befell in the Great Sea. The originator and teacher of such trickery was Homer's Odysseus, who told Alkinous and his people about the enthralment of the winds, one-eyed, savage cannibals, many-headed beasts, the

transformation of his comrades by means of drugs, and such like marvels." It is a pity such romancers should have it all their own way, and Lucian is minded to enter the lists against them and beat them at their own game. His lying is certainly more reasonable than theirs; "for at this one point I shall tell the truth, in saying that I shall lie. I write about things which I have neither seen nor experienced nor learned from others, and which, moreover, have no existence and could not possibly happen."

In this jesting vein he relates how he got a ship, well furnished with provisions, water, and arms, and manned by a crew of fifty; and, passing the Pillars of Herakles—as the Straits of Gibraltar were named by the ancients—steered out upon the Western Ocean with a favouring breeze. Marvellous were the experiences of that gallant company. Lucian's method is to "go one better" than his rivals in the game of romancing, and his adventures are precisely similar to theirs, only tenfold more wonderful. After a succession of amazing experiences, he encountered one more marvellous than all the rest. There is, indeed, a slight reminiscence about it of the Homeric story of Charybdis, but it is obviously a "skit" on the Biblical story of Jonah and the Whale. Let us hear it as Lucian tells it:—

"A change for the better, it seems, proves often the beginning of greater ills. We had sailed only two days in fair weather when, at dawn on the third, we see against the sunrise many monsters and great fishes, especially one fifteen furlongs in length. On it came, open-mouthed and disturbing the sea a long way before it, awash with foam and displaying its gigantic teeth all sharp like stakes and white like ivory. We bade each other good-bye, embraced, and waited. It was now upon us and swallowed us at a gulp, ship and all. It had no time, however, to crunch us with its teeth, and the ship fell clean through the openings into

its inside. When we were within, at first it was dark, and we could see nothing; but presently the fish gaped, and we saw a huge hollow everywhere broad and high, ample for a city of ten thousand men to inhabit. In the midst lay little fish and many other beasts well crushed, and sails and anchors and human bones and cargoes, and at the centre were land and hills composed, methinks, of the mud the monster had swallowed. A wood and all sorts of trees had grown upon it, and herbs had sprung up, and all as though they had been cultivated. The circumference of the land was two hundred and forty furlongs. And one could see also seabirds, gulls, and kingfishers, nesting on the trees."

By-and-by the castaways got somewhat used to their situation, and Lucian set out with seven of his men to reconnoitre. When they had gone five furlongs, they came upon a temple of Poseidon and various evidences of human handiwork. Presently they heard the barking of a dog and spied smoke, and hurrying forward they found an old man and a youth busy at work on a garden-bed. They proved to be a merchant of Cyprus and his son, who, seven and twenty years before, had been driven out to sea by a storm and had been swallowed by the monster, they alone escaping of all their ship's company. There they had lived ever since, sustaining themselves by herbs and nuts and fish, and sorely persecuted by certain fierce neighbours, half fish, half men, who dwelt hard by. Skintharos was the old man's name, and he and Lucian resolved to do battle with the oppressors. They mustered their forces, and, after a grim engagement, during which the inside of the monster rang with cries and the clash of arms, they gained a splendid victory, and, after the fashion of ancient warriors, set up a trophy.

Ere long they grew sick-tired of their situation, and cast about for some way of escape. First they essayed to dig through the side of the monster; but, after digging about

five furlongs, they saw it was no use, and gave it up in despair. Their next plan was to set the wood on fire and thus kill the creature. They did so; and for seven days and as many nights it seemed to suffer no inconvenience, but on the eighth and ninth it was obviously sick. It gaped sluggishly, and, when it gaped, soon closed its mouth again. On the tenth and eleventh days it was completely mortified and stank. The prisoners saw that, if it died with its jaws closed, they were lost; and so they watched their opportunity, and when next it gaped, they shored up its jaws with props, so that it could not close them. Presently the creature died, and they dragged the ship along its gullet, launched out, and sailed away.

Beyond a doubt, it is the Book of Jonah that Lucian was making a jest of when he wrote this tale of wonder, and it plainly reveals his attitude toward the Christian religion. He does not for one moment entertain the idea that the Scriptures contain a Divine revelation. He puts them in the same category with Homer's Odyssey; and as for the miracles they record, he dismisses them with a wave of his hand and a good-natured smile. "I know," he says, "that your Bible is full of marvels; but so are other books. And really it would not be difficult to improve upon them and invent still more wonderful romances." This he sets himself to do in a spirit of playful banter. We have seen his treatment of the story of Jonah; and he goes on presently to give us another taste of his caustic wit. It is the Apocalyptic description of the New Jerusalem that he now assails, and he laughs it out of court in precisely the same fashion. He paints a still more wonderful picture, and, though he does not draw the inference, he plainly suggests: "See how I have improved upon your fable! What of your New Jerusalem now?"

Here is the passage, and it is not necessary to arrange it and the familiar verses in the twenty-first chapter of

Revelation in parallel columns in order to perceive their resemblance. After their escape from the belly of the great fish, those venturous mariners voyaged on till they came to that Island of the Blest of which the ancient poets sing, and were conducted to the radiant city where Rhadamantos had his throne and the mighty dead feasted in perpetual peace. "Now," says Lucian, "this city is all golden, and the wall that encircles it is of emerald; and there are seven gates, all of cinnamon wood of one piece. The foundation of the city and the ground within the wall are of ivory. And there are temples of all gods builded of beryl stone, and vast altars therein of solid amethyst, whereon they offer the hecatombs. And round the city runs a river of the fairest myrrh, an hundred royal cubits broad and fifty deep, so that it flows gently. And there are baths therein, great houses of glass heated with cinnamon; and instead of water in the basins is warm dew. And no one waxes old, but remains at the age whereat he comes. Yea, neither is there night among them, nor very bright day; for, as the radiance of dawn ere the sun has risen, such is the light that overspreads the land. Moreover they know but one season of the year; for with them it is always spring, and with them one wind blows—the west."

These two books appeared about the same time—the *True History* of Lucian and the *True Word* of Celsus. In them we see the two weapons wherewith chiefly Christianity has been assailed—satire and argument; and of these the former, if it be skilfully handled, is the more injurious. An argument may be refuted, but a sneer is like a poisoned arrow; and there is no surer way of crushing an opponent than covering him with ridicule and making him a public laughing-stock. It is interesting to observe how these two contemporaneous assaults were received by the Christian theologians of the day. The

True Word was answered, and that right effectively, by Origen, who was equally great as a thinker, a scholar, and a Christian. The *True History*, on the contrary, evoked no response. The keen shafts may have pierced deep, but they were endured in silence.

And for this silence there are, perhaps, two reasons. One is that *silence is really the most effective reply to calumnies.* There is a striking passage in Origen's introduction to his great apology. "Our Saviour and Lord Jesus Christ," he says, "when false witness was borne against Him, 'held His peace'; when He was accused, He 'answered nothing'; being persuaded that His whole life and His doings among the Jews were stronger than a voice refuting the false witness and than speeches making defence against the accusation. . . . It was matter for surprise that, when He could have made defence and established His innocence and recounted the praises of His own life and of His miracles as they had been wrought of God, that He might give His judge a way of pronouncing a gentler sentence upon Him, He should not have done this, but should have despised it and regarded the accusation with proud disdain. . . . Now Jesus," Origen continues, "is always having false witness borne against Him, and there is never a time when, malice being in men, He is not being accused; and He Himself now also holds His peace at these things and answers not by voice, but makes His defence in the life of His own true disciples, which cries out His excellences and is stronger than all false witness. Thus He refutes and overturns false witness-bearings and accusations."

It was only the insistence of his friend Ambrose that induced Origen to enter the lists against Celsus. Had he followed his own judgment, he would have imitated Jesus and "held his peace." Not that he had no defence to offer, but that he reckoned a Christian life the best evidence

of Christianity. And shall we not recognise a like explanation of the silence with which Lucian's mockery was endured?

Another explanation of it is that the early Christians would be somewhat puzzled by Lucian's raillery and would hardly know what to make of it. They were mostly either Jews or men imbued with the Jewish spirit; and the Jewish spirit was an utter stranger to the sense of humour, herein differing widely from the Greek spirit. It is instructive to observe how the word *laugh* is used in the Old Testament. It denotes the laughter of *incredulity*, as when Sarah laughed at the promise which she judged impossible; the laughter of *folly*, which is "as the crackling of thorns under a pot"; the laughter of *exultation* at an enemy's discomfiture; the laughter of *contemptuous scorn*. Never once does it mean the laughter of mirthful gaiety. Of sarcasm, indeed, caustic and biting satire, there is no lack in the holy Scriptures. How scathing the Prophets could be! And St. Paul is almost as richly endowed with this perilous gift as Elijah or Isaiah. But where, at any rate in the Old Testament, is there a single ray of playful humour? The laughter of the Hebrews is never the merriment of a genial and kindly soul, but always harsh, scornful, vindictive mockery that grates on the ear and corrodes the heart.

The truth is that the Hebrew mind was too serious to be humorous; and, while such a temper has its advantages, it has its disadvantages also. The sense of humour sweetens a man's heart and delivers him from a thousand extravagances. A little touch of it would have saved George Fox from his manifold absurdities. Had he been blessed with the feeblest perception of comicality, would he have condemned the friendly greetings *Good morning* and *Good evening* as rank blasphemies, inasmuch as God made every morning and every evening, and therefore no morning or evening can be other than good? Would he have insisted

that a Christian must rather lay down his life than uncover his head, even in the presence of the most exalted of mankind, supporting his contention on one occasion by the example of Shadrach, Meshach, and Abed-nego, who, though in the king's presence, still had their hats on when they were cast into the burning fiery furnace? Humour has been called a "saving grace," and Thoreau has styled it the "indispensable pledge of sanity." And is it not so? Surely it deserves to be called a "saving grace" when it delivers a man from playing the fool; surely it is justly termed the "indispensable pledge of sanity" when it balances a man's judgment and helps him to lead a sensible, cheery life, in peace and goodwill with his fellow-creatures.

Yet the advantage is not all on one side. It is a striking fact that the world's great causes have found their doughtiest champions in men of the grave Hebrew temper. There is, indeed, one remarkable exception—Martin Luther. A score of times he came within an ace of martyrdom, yet none was ever more blithe than he, always singing, and meeting every man with a cheery smile and a pleasant jest. It would seem, however, to be the rule that fanaticism and enthusiasm go hand in hand. It was because they took life so earnestly, and so intensely realized the power and presence of the Unseen, that St. Paul, Athanasius, Calvin, and Knox were what they were and did what they did. His subtle wit and balanced judgment delivered Erasmus from fanaticism, but they quenched the ardour of his soul and chilled the enthusiasm which would have made him the chief among the Reformers. The course of history would have been different had the early champions of Christianity resembled Erasmus. They were men of the grave Hebrew temper, and they would regard Lucian's raillery as mere foolish trifling. His shafts were keen and poisonous, but they struck against a panoply of grim insensibility, and glanced off harmless.

DAVID SMITH.

TWO IMPORTANT WORKS ON THE OLD TESTAMENT.[1]

A NEW volume of the *International Critical Commentary*[2] is always welcome, especially where, as in this case, there has been hitherto no complete modern commentary for advanced students. Prof. H. Preserved Smith's work adequately fills a gap in the exegesis of the Old Testament in English.

Considering the extreme difficulty of deciding how to use a limited space, what to insert and what to omit, it is perhaps ungracious to criticise selection of material; but we could have wished that some of the room devoted to textual criticism and elementary grammar had been given to introduction and exposition. Those who care for such details as the authorities for the insertion or omission of a *Waw* can find them in Driver's *Text of Samuel*, or Budde's *Samuel*, in the *Sacred Books of the Old Testament*. The statement, i. 3, that "the perfect with Waw Cons. is used of customary action," hardly needed to be supported by references to three grammars; and few Hebrew students who consult this volume will be ignorant that בכה in ובכה תבכה, i. 10, is the "emphatic adverbial infinitive." The type and paper used in giving references to a series of grammars is wasted. A very small proportion of readers look up the references, and these would consult their grammars of their own accord, and would know their way about them themselves. On the other hand, the author does not allow himself space enough to do justice to his views on the introduction and analysis; and there is a somewhat meagre treatment of such matters as the "Sons of Ariel," II. xxiii. 20;

[1] H. P. Smith, on Samuel; Piepenbring, on Old Testament History.

[2] *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Books of Samuel*, by Henry Preserved Smith, Professor of Biblical History and Interpretation in Amherst College (Mass., U.S.A.); Edinburgh, T. and T. Clark, 1899, pp. xl. 422; 12*s*.

Book of Jashar; the beginnings of prophecy in Israel; the date and origin of *Hannah's Song*, and of *David's Last Words*, II. xxiii. 1–7, etc. Here and there a necessary detail is absent, *e.g.* in the account of the temple at Shiloh, I. i. 9, Jeremiah's references, vii. 12–14, xxvi. 9, to the ruins of that sanctuary should have been given. Probably our author has done all that is of any practical use, in simply giving the translation of II. xxi. 19, "Elhanan ben Jair the Bethlehemite slew Goliath the Gittite," but most readers will look for some discussion of the difficulty raised by this statement. One serious defect is the absence of any tabular synopsis of the analysis: this will doubtless be remedied in a second edition; but it might be worth while to add it to unbound copies of the present issue.

The textual criticism fully recognises that the Masoretic Text is by no means a final authority, and an appendix combats the reactionary views of Löhr's *Samuel*. As to details, our author, like Robertson Smith, and Cornill, considers that the passages in the account of David and Goliath, omitted by LXX. (B, etc.), viz., 1 Samuel xvii. 12–31, 38*b*, 41, 48*b*, 50, 55–xviii. 5, are additions to the text, introduced from some lost history of David. In I. xx. 8, and one or two other passages, it is proposed, on the analogy of the Arabic *la*, to read לא (usually pointed לֹא, *not*) as לָא, "a strongly affirmative particle—*Verily*"; thus for II. xxiii. 5, "Verily my house is not so with God," R.V., we have, "Verily, sure is my house with God." If לא may mean either "verily" or "not," according to the context, a serious addition is made to the resources and temptations of the textual critic. But the effect of substituting "verily" for "not" may generally be obtained by turning the clause into a question: thus, in the passage cited, R.V.Mg. has "For is not my house so with God?" It seems scarcely necessary to enrich the Hebrew language

with this new particle. Other examples of amended text are I. ii. 2:

> There is none holy like Yahweh,
> For there is none righteous like our God,
> And there is no rock besides thee.

I. ix. 25, "They came from the Bamah to the city, and they spread a bed for Saul on the roof, and he lay down."

Up to a certain point the analysis agrees substantially with that of earlier critics. The various poems are borrowed from collections. The Lament over Saul and Jonathan is a genuine work of David. But Hannah's Psalm has no connection with Hannah, nor the Last Words of David, xxiii. 1–7, with David. The latter is a "comparatively late production." Our author is rather vague in his statements of time, wherein he shows his discretion, because the data do not admit of very definite results. Still, terms like "late" and "comparatively late" require explanation, unless we may assume that "late" means "post-exilic," a convention often implied in recent literature. Even of II. xxii. = Psalm xviii., which is still claimed for David by many critics, Prof. H. P. Smith writes, "It is difficult to suppose the composition to be David's own." He considers that the psalm was included in *Samuel* before it was inserted in the Psalter; and that the latter adopted the title from *Samuel*. Probably, however, the Psalter and *Samuel* alike borrowed both psalm and title from the early Davidic hymn book. The analogy of the other psalm titles seems to show that this title also was composed for a psalter, and not for *Samuel*. With many, but by no means all, critics, our author considers that the text in *Samuel* has suffered more than in the Psalter.

The bulk of the book is referred to two main sources. The older document, a life of Saul, is denoted by the symbol *Sl.*; "it is more primitive in its religious ideas.

It has a near and clear view of the personages and of the progress of events. We may class it with the stories of Gideon, of Jephthah, and of Samson, which form the ground work of the Book of Judges." To *Sl.* are referred I. ix. 1–x. 16, xi., xiii. 2–xiv. 52, xvi. 14–23, xviii. 6–13, 20–29*a*, xix. 11–17, xxi. 2–10, xxii. 1, 2, 6–23, xxiii. 1–14, xxv.–xxvii., xxix., xxx.; II. i.–iv., ix.–xx. (Ammon, Tamar, Absalom, Uriah, and Bathsheba), and perhaps xxi. 1–14 and xxiv.

The Psalms, etc., already referred to, and certain other passages, do not belong to the main sources; these exceptions account for I. ii. (parts of ii. from earlier source used by *Sm.*, and therefore really part of *Sm.*); xx. 1–xxi. 1 (fragment from another source); II. xxi. 15–22, xxiii. 8–39 (old catalogue of exploits and of heroes), xxii. 1–xxiii. 7.

The rest belongs to a Life of Samuel, denoted by the symbol *Sm.*, which, however, has incorporated I. ii. 12, 17, 22–25, 27–36, iv. 1*b*–vii. 1 from an older source.

Prof. H. P. Smith is not absolutely convinced that either *Sl.* or *Sm.* extends through the whole period. Possibly *Sl.* stands for a series of three sources, one in I. i. xv., another in I. xvi.–II. i., and a third in II. ii.–xxiv.; while *Sm.* represents a similar series.

Roughly *Sl.* = Kittel's S + Da + Je = Budde's J; and *Sm.* = Kittel's SS + E = Budde's $E^1 + E^2$. Our author's uncertainty as to whether the *Sl.* sections are from one or three sources corresponds to Kittel's doubt as to whether his *Je* and *S* are parts of the same source. Prof. H. P. Smith rejects Budde's theory that *Samuel* is substantially a portion of JE. Thus, p. xxii., "Repeated examination of the points of resemblance has failed to convince me of the identity which is claimed," *i.e.* between the sources of *Samuel* and J and E.

The most important feature of the book is the date assigned to *Sm.* According to Kittel, Budde, etc., the

sections here assigned to *Sm.* are mostly pre-Deuteronomic; they belong to the earlier and more historical sources. But, here, *Sm.* "idealizes persons and events. It is dominated by a theological idea. It is, in fact, in line with the latest redactor of the Book of Judges, who embodied the Deuteronomistic theory of history in the framework of that book. There is reason to suppose, therefore, that *Sm.* designed to replace the older history by one of his own, which would edify his generation. This design and this method are indications of a comparatively late date—perhaps in or after the Exile." In passing we may note that the language about *Judges* is a little obscure; no doubt "the latest Deuteronomistic redactor" is meant; it can scarcely be intended to deny the priestly redaction of Judges. Further, *Sm.* is supposed to be partly based on *Sl.* But, as to the main point, it has hitherto been supposed that *Samuel* was substantially a pre-Deuteronomic work, compiled from genuine (not, of course, infallible) historical sources, with a comparatively small amount of later additions; and that, with the exception of a much smaller amount of post-exilic additions, our *Samuel* was completed during or shortly before the Exile. But now we are told that *Sm.*, one of the main sources, is exilic or post-exilic; hence the combination of *Sl.* with *Sm.* must be later still. No proof is given of this position, nor are its consequences worked out; probably we may look for a special monograph on the subject, which will be read with great interest. The analysis itself, however, shows pretty clearly how these conclusions are arrived at. There is a series of passages, I. ii. 27–36, iii. 11–14, vii. 2–17, xii., xvi. 1–13, xxi. 11–16, etc., often held to be composed or edited by Deuteronomic or even later writers. Budde, Cornill, Kittel, etc., separate these passages from the older sources, and refer them to R^D or to post-exilic writers. Prof. H. P. Smith includes them in *Sm.*, and by this inclusion is

obviously compelled to regard *Sm.* as exilic or post-exilic. The question at issue, therefore, is whether these passages belong to the same document as the rest of *Sm.*, *e.g.* the early history of Samuel, I. i., iii. As to some passages, *e.g.* David's Anointing by Samuel, xvi. 1–13, there is much to be said for our author's contention that they are homogeneous with the rest of his *Sm.*; but then it is equally probable that they are pre-Deuteronomic. We should be glad to see a fuller discussion of this matter than is possible in a commentary.

There is a short but most outspoken and interesting section on the theology of *Samuel.* The older source *Sl.* reflects the primitive religion of Israel, which used Teraphim, and supposed that the exile from Yahweh's land lost his protection and must worship "other gods." This is contrasted with the teaching of the Deuteronomic *Sm.*, which classes, I. xv. 22, Teraphim with idolatry and witchcraft as an abomination to Yahweh, and asserts, I. xii. 21, that the gods of the nations are no gods.

M. Piepenbring's *Histoire du Peuple d'Israel*[1] is not merely a valuable addition to the works which seek to popularize the results of criticism, but is also a useful text-book for students, and an important exposition of the views of a distinguished scholar. What Kittel, in his History, did for the views of Dillmann, our author, following in the footsteps of Stade and Cornill, does, in somewhat advanced fashion, for the views of the more advanced followers of Graf, Wellhausen, and Kuenen. The scheme of this work is more comprehensive than that of Cornill's history; it deals not only with politics, but also with the development of art, social life, civil law, government, worship, literature, and theology. Most attention is given to the literature,

[1] *Histoire du Peuple d'Israel*, par C. Piepenbring (de Strasbourg): Strasbourg Libraire J. Noiriel, 1898; pp. iv. 730.

while comparatively little space is given to the formal treatment of the history of Old Testament theology—the author has a separate work on the subject. There is no attempt at a complete statement of critical details, arguments, and theories, but our author makes a judicious selection, deals fully with the points selected, and largely avoids the dry, obscure brevity of technical nomenclature. Hence his work is both intelligible and interesting to the general reader. Numerous references to some of the more important commentaries and introductions enable the student to verify and supplement the statements of the text.

The general critical position is a rather advanced form of that expounded in Driver's *Introduction*. Thus, p. 175, "We are no more certain that we possess a single authentic proverb of Solomon, than that we have a single psalm composed by David, or a single law emanating from Moses." M. Piepenbring seems rather inclined to adopt the views of the latest important work on any subject. Thus he holds with Baentsch that the Book of the Covenant was not a part of E, but incorporated by the compiler of JE, and that the Law of Holiness is based on a source used by Ezekiel, but also contains sections based on Ezekiel. He is, as far as we have noticed, the first critic who has endorsed Steuernagel's analysis of Deuteronomy, in which the use of different forms of address, second person singular and plural, is regarded as a criterion of different sources. Further, he adopts the opinion, which is now gaining ground, that the Joshua portion of the Priestly Code was not included in the law promulgated by Ezra. He is inclined to recognise J and E in Judges, Samuel and Kings. In opposition to Kosters, he accepts the Return under Joshua and Zerubbabel; but holds that no attempt to rebuild the temple was made before the ministry of Haggai and Zechariah. The Prologue and Epilogue of Job are taken from a history of Job current at the close of the

monarchy, and are not consistent with the discussion to which they serve as framework; the Elihu speeches are a later addition. Our author rejects, as it seems to us for very insufficient reasons, the view that Ecclesiastes is composite, and regards it as "un seul tout." He follows Budde in rejecting the dramatic theories on Canticles, and in explaining it as a cycle of lyrics sung in celebration of a wedding, in which the bride and bridegroom figure as Solomon and his queen. Ruth and Jonah are post-exilic protests against the particularist policy of Ezra and Nehemiah. Joel and Zechariah ix.–xiv. belong to the Greek period. Only xl.–xlviii. belong to the Second Isaiah.

As to history, the history of Israel begins with the Exodus. The patriarchal narratives concern tribes, not individuals; *e.g.* p. 13, "Les récits qui se rapportent aux fils de Jacob ont été inspirés par la conduite et le sort des principales tribus israélites. Voilà ce qui est de plus en plus reconnu de nos jours par tous les hommes compétents et même par des savants relativement conservateurs." The treatment of the subsequent history is similar to Cornill's; although, of course, there are many minor differences: *e.g.* M. Piepenbring is more favourable to Saul and less favourable to David. The work closes on the eve of the Revolt of the Maccabees. Does the author place Esther later? We see no full treatment of that book. There may be a casual reference, perhaps in a footnote, which we have overlooked, but there is no index to tell us so.

The view taken of Israelite religion is rather extreme: p. 722, "The primitive Hebrews shared the crude (*grossière*) and imperfect religion, and the superstitious ideas, of all uncivilized peoples"; p. 723, "We must break with the narrow particularism and 'magisme,' which have hitherto dominated Jewish and Christian religion, and have regarded the origin of Judaism and Christianity as altogether exceptional, and due to a special divine inter-

vention, not extended to any other people." Nevertheless, "Biblical history is unique, because it describes an evolution 'of religion' which was brought about with an intensity and rapidity which fill us with admiration, and make that history typical, '*une histoire-type.*'" Our author often distinguishes a "Jahvisme puritain" from the popular religion, though not very clearly; and seems to recognise some truth in the traditional view, that there were always Israelites who had a purer religion than the popular superstitious worship of Yahweh and "other gods." Probably this view may be pressed further than M. Piepenbring would allow. It seems to us that, in the body of his book, he is unduly silent as to the working of the Divine Spirit as the governing force in the evolution of the religion of Israel. But this omission is partly made good in a brief but important epilogue on *Criticism and Faith*, in which he writes: p. 724 ff., "There is no reason to fear for the future of faith and religion. . . . Those who seek an objective foundation for their faith in a Divine Revelation are not deprived of this support by the results of modern criticism. . . . An impartial and enlightened judgment finds certain traces of a Divine Revelation in all the pious souls of all ages, without failing to recognise that this Revelation is manifested in its fullest extent, and in truly characteristic fashion, '*à un degré supérieur et vraiment classique,*' in the Hebrew prophets, sages, and psalmists, and most perfectly in Jesus Christ." What is really important for us in all this, is not that in many matters M. Piepenbring's theology is seriously different from our own, but that his unsparing criticism of the literature, history, and theology of the Old Testament in no way shakes his faith in Revelation or in Christ.

W. H. Bennett.

SOME RECENT EDITIONS OF THE ACTS OF THE APOSTLES.[1]

THE following notes on some recent editors follow strictly the line of indicating how far the present writer has found them useful as guides to a better understanding of the *Acts*. The theological or doctrinal position and prejudices of the various editors may be set aside as of no importance for our immediate purpose. The one question here is, whether their commentaries bring out clearly and completely the meaning of the book regarded as a work of history and as a piece of literature.

1. Dr. Knowling's book is placed first, because it must be pronounced distinctly the best and most useful edition known to the reviewer, as it is one of the largest and fullest.

Undoubtedly, the most striking feature of Dr. Knowling's work is his mastery of the modern literature of the subject and the very full account which he gives of current views. Yet he is not burdened by the weight of learning which he carries. He has thought long over every question. He selects, discriminates, judges. He reports many opinions; he tacitly condemns and omits far more. His own views are often expressed with admirable sympathy and feeling: see an example quoted in another place (below, p. 374).

[1] Prof. R. J. Knowling, D.D., *The Acts of the Apostles* in *The Expositor's Greek Testament*, 1900.

Rev. F. Rendall, *The Acts of the Apostles*, 1897.

Rev. Jos. Knabenbauer, S.J., *Commentarius in Actus Apostolorum*, 1899.

Meyer's *Kommentar*, new edition, 1899, by Prof. H. H. Wendt.

Prof. G. G. Gilbert, *The Student's Life of Paul*, 1899.

Rev. H. M. Luckock, D.D. (Dean of Lichfield), *Footprints of the Apostles as traced by S. Luke in the Acts*, 1897.

Considering the enormous difficulties that beset the editor of *Acts* at every step, in the present unsettled state of criticism and of historical illustration, it is hardly possible to praise too highly the way in which Prof. Knowling has achieved his task. He has left no part of his duty as an editor unperformed. He has given a marvellously fair and full representation of almost every shade of opinion. He has on all sides shown himself remarkably accurate. He states historical and geographical and archæological illustrations with a precision which is rare and most refreshing among the New Testament commentators—many of whom seem to think it a duty to set in higher relief the accuracy of Luke in all such matters by the errors in details which they make in attempting to prove his accuracy—of which we shall give some illustrations below.

The many questions that emerge as to the settlement of the text have been carefully considered by Dr. Knowling. He is fully alive to the importance of many of the Western readings ; but he does not think that many of them are due to Luke himself. He is a very discriminating follower of Westcott and Hort, and often differs from their text. We might, perhaps, fairly desiderate some clearer statement of his principles in constructing his text. But he is rather an eclectic in text (which is probably the right view, though eclectics will differ on many details from one another); and there can really be no general principle in eclecticism, but each case has to be considered on its own merits. In xvii. 18 one wonders that he does not justify his reading *τῶν* before *Στωϊκῶν*, where WH, Tisch., etc., with ℵABE have no article.[1]

It is, however, quite impossible to give any proper account of a book so large, so full of matter, touching so many points of interest, within the compass of a review. One can

[1] Knabenbauer agrees with him in reading and in failure of justification, but Mr. Rendall follows WH.

readily give examples of faults in a book; but it is not easy to give a reasoned account of the merits of a work like this. One can only say, in brief, that *Acts* is at the present time the most difficult book of the New Testament to edit, and that Prof. Knowling has edited it in a way which stands out far beyond all others. The older editions have become antiquated to a far greater degree than editions of the Gospels, owing both to the great change in the point of view from which *Acts* is now regarded, and to the remarkable increase in our knowledge of many subjects that illustrate *Acts*. The recent editions have often great merits on one side or other, but in most cases the merits are counterbalanced by defects or faults on other sides.

He possesses a quality which always seemed to me specially characteristic of the late Bishop Lightfoot, and was the earliest cause of the deep respect and admiration that I have always entertained for that great scholar: he states the opinions of others, even those from whom he disagrees, with conspicuous accuracy and fairness. That may seem, on a superficial view, to be no more than is to be expected from even a beginner in scholarship. As a fact, it is one of the rarest of qualities.

It is characteristic of the singular fairness with which Dr. Knowling states opinions contrary to his own, that his notes sometimes are devoted mainly to explaining and justifying a text which he does not approve. In xix. 40 he reads *περὶ οὗ δυνησόμεθα* instead of *περὶ οὗ οὐ δυνησόμεθα* against the agreement of ℵ B; yet, while his notes, as usual, state the evidence with precision, clearness, and fairness, they would almost suggest that he preferred the reading of ℵ B. His text seems to me right. The insertion of the negative was easy and tempting after *οὗ*, and the true text, "we shall be able to give reason for this concourse," on a superficial view, seemed to want the negative; but the required negative really lies in the preceding clause, "there being no

cause by reference to which we shall be able to give reason for this riotous concourse."

Again in xiii. 14 he reads τῆς Πισιδίας against ℵ A B C, yet in both critical and explanatory notes he justifies the accusative so completely that one wonders why he prefers the genitive.

It is not meant that I always agree with Dr. Knowling, or that he accepts all my published views. But there are many points in the study of ancient literature in regard to which opinion varies with perfect reason. Dr. Knowling seems to me to show good judgment, even where I am not persuaded by him. I cannot agree with him in minimizing the force of ἀρχαίων in xv. 7. Comparing the ἀρχαίῳ of xxi. 16, I think we are bound to infer that already in 50 or 51 the time [immediately before and after the Crucifixion was called by the Christians "ancient," and that the episodes of Stephen and Cornelius belong to that time and not to A.D. 37 or 38. But it is quite a reasonable position to follow Dr. Knowling.

As to the print and general appearance, I need only quote a careful and obviously competent unknown reviewer:—[1] "The typography is a remarkable achievement of skill and accuracy."

In an edition of the Greek Testament good accentuation is a great merit. I have examined a number of pages carefully, and have not observed one false accent. On p. 343 I notice ὑμῖν for ἡμιν, but such misprints are extremely rare.[2] Except in some of the books printed at the Oxford or the Cambridge University Press, I have not known an English work so accurate in Greek accentuation; and this remark applies to the entire volume.[3] I may be

[1] *Saturday Review*, Sept., 1900.

[2] I note a few slips: p. 376, for *lx.* read *ix.*; p. 387, insert *u* in *unusal.*

[3] It includes also *Romans*, by Prof. Denney; and 1 *Corinthians*, by Prof. Findlay.

pardoned for feeling special satisfaction that the Aberdeen University Press has achieved such exceptionally accurate work in the first edition of so large a book (953 pages).

A word on this subject may be added about the other editions. In a similar number of pages selected at random from Mr. Rendall's edition, the following false accents may be noted in the commentary:[1]—p. 113, ἑόρτην for ἑορτήν: p. 123, λάον for λαόν: p. 127, ἀκουσονται unaccented: p. 148, Σεβαστῆνοι for Σεβαστηνοί: also the misprint *Canda* for *Cauda* on p. 152. Now there are few Greek words in the notes to this edition, sometimes not more than five on a small page, whereas Dr. Knowling's large pages contain a very much greater number of Greek words.

Dr. Knabenbauer's edition is very correct in accents. I observe on p. 47 τᾶς for τὰς: twice on p. 429 Φοίνιξ for Φοῖνιξ: on p. 444 μεταβαλόμενου is misprinted for -λόμενοι, and on p. 446 ἑκατονάρχας for -ντάρχας: on p. 133 αὐτοῖς wants a breathing, and on p. 50 οὐδέ needs an accent. He three times uses *Syracusa*, pp. 444, 446, in the singular instead of the plural form (following the bad Latin form of the Vulgate text). His Latin is often very harsh and awkward: see for example the last sentence on p. 404.

Dr. Wendt's commentary, being in its eighth edition, cannot fairly be compared with Dr. Knowling's first edition: it is of course accurate in this respect.

2. Mr. Rendall's edition contains many noteworthy and interesting suggestions. His brief appendix on ὅστις, asserting that Luke always uses that relative in a different sense from ὅς, is worth careful study. But he has not convinced me that in xiii. 43 "the Jews and Proselytes . . . urged them (*i.e.* Paul and Barnabas) to abide by the grace of God." Nor has he persuaded Dr. Knowling to follow this interpre-

[1] I have not inspected the text, but only the commentary; the text may be assumed to be repriuted from a printed copy, corrected to the form that the editor prefers.

tation. In fact it seems to be hardly consistent with the force of the tenses (present participle and imperfect indicative), which suggest a continued process, lasting, as Prof. Blass remarks, over all the ensuing week. This objection however, is not conclusive: the imperfects might probably be explained satisfactorily of the action of many individuals separately urging the Apostles "to cleave to the doctrine of the free grace of God in their next address." Mr. Rendall's explanation, however, is worthy of consideration; and Dr. Knowling thinks it worthy of recording, though he pronounces against it.

Prof. Blass several times points out, in contradiction to Mr. Rendall's doctrine, that ὅστις is used by Luke as purely equivalent to ὅς, and that sometimes it merely serves the purpose of avoiding the awkward concurrence of οἵ with a participle, *e.g.* in xvii. 10 οἳ παραγενόμενοι would suggest (when accents were not written) οἱ παρ., and Luke therefore says οἵτινες παρ. A question of grammar like this is a subject in which Prof. Blass's opinion is most weighty.

The arrangement of Mr. Rendall's book is not convenient. The Greek text with a brief commentary fills pp. 31–159, and an English translation, with another slightly fuller commentary, pp. 167–354; and there are appendixes to both parts. The reader has to consult two separate parts before he can gather the editor's opinion, or absence of opinion, on any point. Brief as both commentaries are, there are necessarily very many difficulties on which the editor is silent. While there are many good and elucidative notes, and some novel suggestions that deserve careful consideration, the edition is in practical usefulness far inferior to Dr. Knowling's. The advanced scholar will find much to think over; but most people will complain of the want of guidance.

One criticism is needed. Mr. Rendall states all his opinions, whether they be matters of general acceptation,

or novel and hazardous, with equal dogmatic certainty. In cases where a new interpretation is suggested the use of the first personal pronoun would be like a danger signal, advertising the reader that the subjective element must be noted. But Mr. Rendall avoids absolutely the egoistic form. The use of the first personal pronoun is often blamed as egotistical. In reality, it may be used with a very different feeling by the true scholar, who feels that he ought not to place before the reader his own suggestions as if they were matters of certainty.

One contrast between Prof. Knowling and Mr. Rendall is worth noting. The former is most careful in noting the authorship of every opinion that can possibly be assigned to an individual, and giving the reference precisely: which makes the book all the more useful to those who wish to study, verify, and compare. Mr. Rendall, just as he never uses the first personal pronoun, so also never refers to any other scholar by name. Even Mommsen's brilliant interpretation of the Stratopedarch and the Augustan Band, which springs from him and owes most of its weight to his single authority, is veiled under the vague quotation "modern criticism," which might suggest to the unwary reader that the interpretation is due to a New Testament critic instead of the greatest of Roman historians.

This reticence, certainly, gives an air of distinction and dignity to the book; but in practice the reader will often wish for some help in order to investigate the subject further.

3. Dr. Knabenbauer's edition forms part of a *Cursus Scripturæ Sacræ*, containing the whole Bible, and dedicated to Pope Leo XIII. Conformably to the purpose of the series, the commentary is largely directed to edification on doctrinal points. It leaves many real difficulties unexplained, but it discusses at length the bearing on later Church history of the fact that Philip's four daughters were virgins.

In many passages of *Acts* it is undoubtedly useful to see what opinion is held by a scholar trained to look from a widely different point of view; and the commentary is the work of a scholar. But from the point of view from which we are writing this edition is unsatisfactory. It is old-fashioned in most questions of history and archæology.

4. Wendt's new edition needs no recommendation. It stands already firm and tried on its own merits. It is thoroughly revised, and recent works have been carefully weighed. Prof. Wendt's opinion will always command respect; but in some questions, as for example the relation of *Acts* to Josephus, we cannot admire his handling of the arguments. Personally, I find myself more often listening to Dr. Knowling than to him.

5. An example may here be given of the help which these various editors have to give. In *Acts* xvii. 10, "the brethren (of Thessalonica) privately sent away Paul and Silas by night unto Berœa: who when they were come *thither* went away into [1] (ἀπῆλθαν εἰς) the synagogue of the Jews." Why does Luke say "went away" or "departed"? Why not simply "entered"? From what or from whom did they depart? and what need is there for saying that they "went away" from them or it?

Dr. Knabenbauer ignores the difficulty. He simply uses the Vulgate text *introierunt* in his commentary, as if the Greek text were εἰσῆλθον or εἰσῆλθαν.

Dr. Knowling says "it may imply that on their arrival Paul and Silas left their escort and went into the synagogue." But what is the point of recording that? It is obvious that they would not remain always with their escort. Can the point be that the escort consisted of Greeks, and therefore the Apostles went away from them in order to enter the synagogue? That would be a telling

[1] "Went into," A.V. and R.V.; and so the Vulgate *introierunt*.

example of Paul's eagerness to conciliate the Jews, and to appeal to them first in every case. The common course of events followed: the Jews of Thessalonica came and fomented a disturbance. On the whole that seems, perhaps the simplest and most natural interpretation.

Dr. Zöckler, followed by Dr. Wendt, thinks that the synagogue was outside Berœa on the banks of the Haliacmon, the neighbouring river (in the same way as the Jewish place of prayer at Philippi was on the banks of the river outside the gates of the city); and that Paul and Silas went right on through the city away to the Haliacmon.[1] But this is obviously a false explanation for two reasons:

(1) The Haliacmon was five miles from Berœa, and the Berœan Jews would never build their synagogue on its banks so far away from the city, and *v.* 13 shows clearly that Paul preached in Berœa, and not five miles away. At Philippi the Jews were too few to have a synagogue, and they went out to a quiet shady place on the bank of the stream that flows through the city.

(2) The meaning which is taken from *ἀπῆεσαν* on this theory is wrong; *ἐξῆεσαν* would have been used if Luke intended to say that they went out from the city to the banks of the stream.

Mr. Rendall offers a novel and interesting interpretation. He takes this as an example of his principle regarding the difference between *οἵτινες* and *οἵ*, saying that *οἵ* would mean Paul and Silas, and *οἵτινες* must therefore mean the escort.

This involves a change in the meaning of the preceding sentence, which he renders: "the brethren conducted (*ἐξέπεμψαν*) Paul and Silas away by night to Berœa, and when they had come to the synagogue of the Jews, went away." The narrative then follows the same form as at the close of the next paragraph, "they that conducted Paul

[1] *Durch die Stadt hindurch ans Wasser des Haliacmon, in dessen Nähe die Synagoge jedenfalls lag* (vgl. xvi. 13).

brought him as far as Athens, and . . . departed." In both cases the escort brings Paul and Silas to their destination, and then leaves them and returns home.

This seems a tempting interpretation, though Dr. Knowling has evidently weighed and rejected it. One remembers that it is wise to think over a new interpretation for months before definitely deciding for or against it. The objections to it which suggest themselves are: (1) That the verb (ἐκπέμπειν) is not elsewhere quoted in *Steph. Thesaurus* in the sense of "escort"; but this is no serious objection, for both the simple verb πέμπειν, and the compounds προπέμπειν, παραπέμπειν, occur in the sense of "conduct," "convoy," "escort." (2) It seems strange that the Thessalonican brethren, who were almost certainly Greeks, should present themselves at the synagogue in Berœa.

This proposed sense adds perhaps to the appropriateness of ἐκπέμπειν in the only other place where Luke uses it; xiii. 4, "the brethren sent Barnabas and Saul away (ἀπέλυσαν); and they, being sent forth (ἐκπεμφθέντες) by the Holy Spirit, went down to Seleuceia." Mr. Rendall would here interpret that "they being brought forth (or conducted) by the Spirit, went down to Seleuceia." This avoids the apparent discrepancy between the brethren sending them forth in *v.* 3[1] and the Spirit sending them forth in *v.* 4. On Mr. Rendall's interpretation the Spirit went with them, convoying and guiding them—a distinct improvement. One might rather look for the present participle to give the sense of continuously convoying; but the aorist is used in xvii. 10, and that may defend xiii. 4.

Without pronouncing definitely between Mr. Rendall's and Dr. Knowling's views, it seems clear that they both are

[1] I adopt the accepted rendering of ἀπέλυσαν; but it is pointed out in *St. Paul the Trav.*, p. 67, that ἀπολύω does not mean "send forth," but rather "set free from their duty in Antioch, and give liberty and charge to a new duty"—like *dimitto* in Latin.

far preferable in insight and accuracy to that of Dr. Zöckler and Dr. Wendt; while Dr. Knabenbauer merely repeats a mistranslation.

6. I have read over most of Prof. Gilbert's *Student's Life of Paul* without being struck by any novel or suggestive thought. Probably this dearth of illuminative sympathy is due to a mistaken conception of what is proper for "students." It is a widely current opinion that a book for students ought to be pre-eminently "safe": nothing that is striking, nothing that has not found general acceptation, should be admitted to it. Presumably this consideration has prevented Prof. Gilbert from applying real independent judgment and insight to his task.

The book contains numerous references to authorities, and the authorities are not always well selected. Any statement, however far wrong, is accepted on such authority, mistaken for good. Not many books of recent times have come before me that contain so many obvious mistakes in regard to the facts and lands and circumstances in which St. Paul lived. Yet the intention is to present "the facts, or the nearest possible approximation to the facts," of St. Paul's life, "entirely apart from a study of his theological teaching."

Prof. Gilbert applies his principle of "approximation to the facts" very liberally. Often, when one sees what he intends to say, his expression of it is so loose that even the least captious critic must object to it. "Alexandria was founded in part by Jews," p. 5, is of this class. Throughout the book one feels that the writer gets his facts from outside, and has not before his own mind a clear picture of ancient society.

The brief description of Tarsus at the beginning of the book is a mass of errors. "Tarsus was 60 miles west of the field where Alexander defeated Darius (333 B.C.), 129 miles west of Antioch, and 515 north-west of Jerusalem." Where

was Issus? Where was the battle of Issus? Sir Charles Wilson puts the battle much nearer to Antioch than to Tarsus. Whence comes that minute accuracy as to distances in cases where it is notorious that accuracy is unattainable by the most experienced travellers?

"Tarsus had been a free city for a century before Paul's birth." It was made a free city either by Antony or by Augustus (authorities vary) [1] less than half a century before Paul's birth. Then follows an inaccurate definition of the rights of a free city, taken, and mistaken, from Marquardt and from Mommsen.

"The natural inference from xxiii. 34, 35, is that Cilicia was a separate province." No such inference follows from the passage.

"Strabo ranked Tarsus above Athens and Alexandria in philosophy and general education." This statement is common in modern books on the New Testament; but it is often taken in a sense not intended by Strabo, as if he regarded that university as superior to all the others. After saying that the Tarsians have excelled both Athens and Alexandria, Strabo defines wherein the Tarsians have surpassed those other cities: the Tarsian school is filled with home students, and no foreigners go to it, whereas other universities are filled with students from outside, and few natives attend. He is exalting the eagerness of the Tarsians to learn above that of the people of other university cities (Alexandria excepted). He speaks, of course, on the authority of the Tarsians whom he met in Rome, where they were very numerous.

Tarsus "was the home of the poet Aratus." This is a false inference of Prof. Gilbert's from the common modern (correct) statement that Aratus was a fellow-countryman

[1] The variation evidently means that Antony gave the right, and Augustus, after defeating Antony, confirmed the act of the usurper (as Antony now was).

of Paul. He was born at Soli in Cilicia, and lived mostly in the Ægean world.

"In later years Paul must have known the name and works" of Apollonius of Tyana "well." This is too absurd! Apollonius was to a large extent an invention of later times. Perhaps Prof. Gilbert takes the Apollonius of Philostratus as historical.

"A little before the time of Paul Strabo studied in Tarsus (54 B.C. to 24 A.D.), and with him the Stoic philosopher Athenodorus Cananites." The date assigned to Strabo is inaccurate. Strabo did not study in Tarsus. Athenodorus belonged to an older generation than Strabo, probably, for he died aged 82 under Augustus and the date 7 A.D. given by Eusebius must refer to his death. Strabo's account of him would suggest an even earlier date.

"Two centuries after Paul's day we find such eminent men studying in Tarsus as Theodore of Mopsuestia (died 429)." The arithmetic is here defective.

Several times in the first few pages we find a strange statement in similar terms. "Manumitted slaves were frequently presented with citizenship." A manumitted slave could not be presented with citizenship. If he was set free in the proper legal form by a Roman master in Rome, he thereby *ipso facto* acquired the Roman citizenship (apart from certain disabilities from which his descendants were free): if not, he could not be presented with it.[1] Prof. Gilbert quotes Schürer, ii. 537; but the German scholar, though putting a sentence in his text not quite accurately, explains the situation clearly in a footnote.

7. The Dean of Lichfield's book may be compared on one side with Dr. Knabenbauer's, for both regard the explanation of *Acts* as merely a preliminary to edification, and on

[1] In some rare cases the Emperor overrode the law, perhaps; but he would only do so with persons brought into relationship with the court.

another side with Prof. Gilbert's, as both are addressed less to scholars and more to a general circle—the Dean's expressly to a popular audience, the Professor's to "students" presumably not versed in Greek, as no Greek word occurs in the book. The restriction of our view at present removes much of the Dean's book from our consideration. Regarded merely as an explanation of *Acts*, the book is far from being so inaccurate as the one which we have just criticised; but still there are not a few things which we should gladly see corrected in a new edition.

The historical reflections often stand in need of reconsideration; and there is a tendency to find historical confirmation of the truth of *Acts* in inaccurate accounts of contemporary events. To take an example or two. The Dean might reconsider whether the reflection (ii. p. 210), *apropos* of Paul's touching at Cos, the birthplace of Apelles, should not be excised. "It may have just reminded St. Paul of the greatest picture he had ever seen, painted by him, of Alexander grasping the thunder, which hung in the temple of Diana at Ephesus." While Paul is probably understood by Luke to have surveyed with appreciative eye the wonders of Athens (xvii. 23), it seems inconceivable that he, while carrying to Jerusalem the offerings of his new Churches in order to cement the unity and harmony of the Christian world, would bear in mind Apelles's picture which he had not seen for years, if at all, when he touched for a night at the harbour of the island where Apelles was born.

Again, in ii. 189, the reference to "proconsuls" in the plural (xix. 38), whereas only a single proconsul governed the province, suggests the following reflections: "There are reasons to believe that it is a strictly accurate statement and testifies to wholly exceptional circumstances. Agrippina had poisoned the proconsul Julian by the hands of Celer and Aelius, who assumed and exercised a joint authority for

some time after his removal." On this it must be pointed out that (1) Celer and Helius (such is the true name, not Aelius) are not said to have taken over the authority of Julianus, which would naturally remain in the hands of his three deputies (*legati pro prætore*), until his successor came from Rome. (2) Even if they had been commissioned by the Emperor (though an illegal and unparalleled and most improbable interference[1] with the machinery of government) to administer Asia for a time, they could not possibly have done so as "proconsuls," for Celer was only a knight and Helius a freedman. (3) The murder of Julianus took place in November or December 54. Now the Dean follows the ordinary chronology, made classical by Lightfoot's support (see ii. p. 305); and therefore he can hardly date the speech of the Town Clerk in Ephesus earlier than the spring of 57. Even if Celer and Helius had assumed command of Asia in 54, they could not have still held it in 56.

It is not possible to accept the suggestion in ii. p. 127 that μερίς in *Acts* xvi. 12 means "the borderland of Macedonia," on the ground that μερίς in Hellenic[2] Greek is often used for frontier. Such a usage is unknown to me, and no example of it is quoted in *Steph. Thesaurus.*

W. M. Ramsay.

[1] Quite inconceivable in the early part of Nero's reign, when government was administered so successfully in the provinces.

[2] Presumably a slip for "Hellenistic." The Greek word is falsely accented μέρις in the same line. False accents occur also in ii. p. 206, i. p. 252; ἀθειότης p. 307 is a slip for ἀθεότης.

LINES OF DEFENCE OF THE BIBLICAL REVELATION.

VI. The Calendar of the Synagogue.

In the first half of the 11th century Abd Al-Hayy of Kardiz compiled a history,[1] mainly intended to glorify the Sultans of Ghaznah, his masters, but also incorporating a variety of interesting matter. Several chapters are taken up with accounts of the feasts of the Eastern nations, among whom he included Mohammedans, Jews, Christians, Parsees, and Hindus. The devastating hordes of Janghiz Khan had not then swept Asia, and much precious literature was still in existence to which we no longer have access. Kardizi, as we shall call this writer, went to authoritative sources for his Calendars,[2] and his chapters, which are in Persian, have some curious marks indicating the authentic character of the documents whence they were drawn. The Jews learned from the Greeks to count by the letters of the alphabet, but for 15 they write 9, 6, to avoid employing the Divine name Jah for so mundane a purpose. To the Persians the letters J H have no such association, so that when they count by letters they make no exception in this case, but let 15 follow the same system as the others. In the Persian account of the feasts of the Jews, 9, 6 appears to have been used in place of 15, which, taken together with some peculiarities of the numeration in the twenties, gives us a certain trace of the character in which the underlying document was written. Kardiz, which is sometimes included in Ghaznah, is far removed from those communities of Sora and Anbar to which we owe our ordinary information concerning Jewish affairs, so that we are justified in expecting something out of the way.

[1] It is called *Zain al-akhbār*; the Bodleian Library has the unique copy.

[2] He utilized Al-Biruni's *Chronology of Ancient Nations*; but most of the matter to which attention is called below is independent of Al-Biruni.

This expectation would appear to be fulfilled. Kardizi commences by enumerating the categories of acts which might not be done on the Sabbath. He counts 38; and his list cannot possibly be dissociated from the Talmudic list of 39. But when we compare the lists, we find that they differ widely. Of the categories enumerated only half tally; and even by correcting the text and assuming occasional mistranslation of Hebrew words we cannot, without exceeding the limits of probability, bring many more into harmony. Which list is then the earlier? The Talmudic list begins with Sowing, Ploughing. That this is an intentional inversion is obvious; for every one knows that ploughing precedes sowing. But the first letter of the verb to sow comes in the Hebrew alphabet immediately before the first letter of the verb to plough. The purpose of the inversion is therefore to aid the memory, and is characteristic of a Mishnah or unwritten book. But the Persian list has the natural order, Ploughing, Sowing.

What, however, is more important and striking is the fact that the Persian Mishnah contains categories which we know from the New Testament to have been among the acts forbidden in our Lord's time, whereas the Talmudic list does not contain them. One of these is *plucking an ear of corn*. Every one remembers how the disciples were rebuked for doing this on the Sabbath. It would, however, be difficult to bring this act under any of the 39 categories of the Mishnah. The nearest would be "reaping"; and, indeed, "pulling up" is repeatedly said to be a subdivision of "reaping."[1] Against this it might be urged that reaping is done with an instrument, whereas the act of the disciples was scarcely distinguishable from ordinary eating; and, in the second place, that the list makes a distinction between acts of which the law forbids a minimum, and acts of which a minimum is not forbidden; and clearly "reaping"

[1] Rashi on *Betsah*, 3*a*.

is of the latter class. Hence the disciples might easily have defended their action. But the Persian Mishnah has "plucking an ear of corn" as a special category, No. 27. If, therefore, the Persian Mishnah were in vogue in our Lord's time, the act of the disciples could not be defended. The occurrence of this category would excite grave suspicion if the list of forbidden acts were given by a Christian or in a document which betrayed Christian influence. But in Kardizi's case such a suspicion would be ill-grounded. His misrenderings of Hebrew words show that his source was Jewish, and the agreement between his number 38 and the Talmudic number 39 cannot possibly be accidental. Neither a Jew nor a Mohammedan would have had any interest in interpolating the list so as to confirm the Gospel; but the Mishnah which accords with the usage of New Testament times has a right to be considered earlier than the Mishnah which disagrees with it. If it be added that the Mishnah of the treatise *Sabbath* teems with late words, which are likely to have been learned by the Jews after the Mohammedan conquest, it is evident that it can lay no claim to antiquity.

A case similar to this, in which there can be no suspicion of interpolation, is No. 3 of the Persian list, which appears to mean "watering the fields," combined with No. 38, "digging a thing up from its place." Neither of these categories is to be found in the Talmudic Mishnah; both, however, were forbidden, and elsewhere in the Talmud there is an interesting discussion about the categories under which they come. "On what grounds,"[1] asks a Rabbi, "do we warn any one who waters or weeds on the Sabbath?" Rabbah said, because these operations come under the head of ploughing. Rab Joseph said, because they come under the head of sowing. The first explained that watering was, like ploughing, a mode of softening the

[1] *Moed Katon*, 2*b*.

earth; whereas the latter held that, like sowing, it contributed to the growth of the plant. The Persian Mishnah, by assigning these operations special categories, rendered such a discussion unnecessary.

To only one more of these categories need attention be called. The Gospels make much of the prohibition against moving objects on the Sabbath. A man who took up his bed and walked thereby violated the Sabbath. This, too, cannot easily be got into the Talmudic categories. No. 39, "removing from region to region," is the most likely; but this implies the elaborate doctrine of regions, which has about it no semblance of antiquity. The Persian Mishnah has three categories which are connected with this subject, and No. 35, "removing furniture from place to place," exactly corresponds with the theory recorded in the Gospel. The question, then, does not depend on the doctrine of regions, which has not yet been worked out.

The remainder of the categories offer scope for observations that are not devoid of interest, but would be irrelevant here. The examples given make it likely that we are tapping a source of Jewish tradition that is older than the collections of which the genesis was described in the last chapter. It is certain that, then as now, only specialists in Judaic matters would have even heard of the categories of acts; there can be no doubt therefore that Kardizi gets his facts from a Jewish book. The book known to him must have been in Judæo-Arabic or Judæo-Persian. For the Feast of Tabernacles was called *Matal* in it, and Kardizi mistakes this for a Hebrew word; whereas it is really an Arabic word which might have been used in either of the languages mentioned. But this work must have been a rather unlearned translation of a work in New-Hebrew, as shall be seen presently, when we consider what it says of the numbering of the people. This work (called by Kardizi the Book of Fasts) cannot have been the existing

Book of Fasts (*Megillath Ta'anith*), for that does not contain all the matter known to Kardizi. There are, moreover, grounds for thinking that the Book of Fasts in the existing form is of no great antiquity; for the Talmud, while quoting it, declares it abrogated. Rashi, whose opinions are always deserving of consideration, supposed that an exception was made in favour of the Book of Fasts when the prohibition against writing anything save the Bible was introduced.[1] But it seems more probable that the Talmud refers to a lost book, of which the Fast-Scroll known to us was a later reconstruction.

For the present the document which, as has been seen, was known to Kardizi at third hand, may be identified with an apocryphal scroll quoted in the Talmud,[2] which contained the 39 categories of acts, though we cannot be sure with which list they agreed. That apocryphal scroll was probably the source not only of Kardizi's lists, but of the matter afterwards written down in the Fast-Scroll,[3] and of the supplement to it, containing a list of days on which fasting was incumbent, which the later Jewish codes copy without being able to make anything of it. The antiquity of the matter contained in that Appendix can be proved very curiously. A day is there set apart for the commemoration of the struggle between the parties of Hillel and Shammai, wherein blood was shed. Of this event there is a casual notice in the Palestinian Talmud, but none in the more popular Talmud of Babylon, whence it came that in the second quarter of the 10th century the most learned Jew of the time knew nothing of it.[4] That he knew nothing of an event commemorated in the Calendar is explicable only on the supposition that either it was inserted in the Calendar after his time, or that the Calendar,

[1] *Sabbath*, 13*b*. [2] *Sabbath*, 6*b*.
[3] Neubauer, *Medieval Jewish Chronicles*, ii. *init.*
[4] Frankel, *Introduction to the Jerusalem Talmud*, p. 132*b*.

though old, was known to only a few persons in the 10th century. Since the memory of the struggle was so painful that the Rabbanite Jews preferred to forget about it, the former supposition is exceedingly unlikely. The latter therefore remains, and it is confirmed by the occurrence of this fast in the Persian Calendar. Kardizi mistakes the parties for tribes, but that is a natural blunder for a Mohammedan to make.

The Persian Calendar differs from the Fast-Scroll in that it commences the year with Tisri, which is the practice of the ordinary communities, whereas the latter commences with Nisan. New Year's Day was called the Fast of the Ten Days by the Jews known to Kardizi, and even the babe in the cradle, he tells us, was not allowed any milk. It was kept for two days, a practice about which we read much in the Talmud, and in the controversial literature of the 10th century. In what follows we shall collect other notices in this Calendar that seem to be ancient.

Feast 9 "is called 'Barek' which means 'blessing' in the Hebrew tongue." The name *Barek* was sometimes given to Mount Gerizim, where the blessing was to be recited.[1] The Persian Calendar connects it with the protraction of the life of Moses, a legend to which Mohammedan writers occasionally refer.[2] That the Persian writer should have invented a Jewish festival, or interpreted its import out of his own head, is highly improbable; therefore he must have obtained both the name and the interpretation from his Jewish authority. It might indeed have been expected that the blessing on Mount Gerizim would have been commemorated by a day in the Calendar. There may perhaps be a reference to both the points noticed in the Persian Calendar in the words of Ecclesiasticus about Moses, "And he brought out of him a merciful man, finding favour in the eyes of all flesh,

[1] Commentators on Josephus, i. 252. [2] *Letters of* Abu 'l-Ala, p. 107.

beloved of God and man, Moses, whose memory is in blessings."[1] These verses can be restored to their metrical shape by the most literal retranslation; and since where syllables are numbered not every clause need be forcible, it is possible that this means no more than the familiar "whose memory is blessed" which the Jews, perhaps in imitation of Mohammedan practice, put after the names of dead saints. On the other hand, if an event in the life of Moses was really commemorated at a feast called Blessings, the last clause would be much more pointed.

It is noteworthy that the legend about Moses is preserved by Mohammedan writers rather than by Jews. Something of the same sort occurs in the notice of the trumpet-blowing on New Year's Day. This, Kardizi tells us, is to imitate the sound which Satan caused Sarah to hear at the time of the sacrifice of Isaac. That New Year's Day with the Jews commemorates the sacrifice of Isaac we learn rather from the practice of their ritual than from any express statement to that effect. Of an interview between Satan and Sarah that took place at that time we read little in Jewish books except in one very late Catena;[2] whereas the historian Tabari gives a very detailed account of one. What we should infer hence is that we are not entitled to neglect the Biblical legends of the Mohammedans when they are found in early and careful reports like that of Tabari. Instead of looking for the source of these in the Talmuds, we should regard them as an independent current of tradition.

Fast 4 is "the Day of Visitation," and commemorates

[1] xlv. 1:

וַיּוֹצֵא מִמֶּנּוּ אִישׁ חָסִיד
מוֹצֵא חֵן בְּעֵינֵי כָּל-בָּשָׂר
אָהוּב מֵאֱלֹהִים וְאָדָם
מֹשֶׁה אֲשֶׁר זִכְרוֹ בִּבְרָכוֹת

[2] See *Yalkut Sofer* (Pax, 1894), 126*a*.

the numbering of the people by David. This is not noticed in the Appendix to the Fast-Scroll, and the Talmud seems to know nothing of such a commemoration. Yet the account is here authentic. In the first place the name of the Fast is represented by the Arabic word for punishment. In Hebrew the word for census-taking is identical with the word for visitation in the sense of punishment:[1] so that we have no difficulty in restoring the Hebrew name of this Fast. There is also another indication of the source of this notice. The choice offered David is between "famine, defeat, and death." The word used in New-Hebrew for "pestilence"[2] differs by one letter added from the word for "death"; and in the paraphrase of the chapter in 2 Samuel, where this story is told, the ordinary edition several times gives "death" for "pestilence" in consequence. Similarly in Ecclesiasticus xxxix. 29 we read "fire and hail, famine and death, all these were created for vengeance," where "death" must be a mistranslation for "pestilence."[3]

As has been seen, the Persian Calendar is not supported by the Appendix in mentioning this Fast. Yet it is clear that it was mentioned in the New-Hebrew document on which the Persian Calendar is based. The facts collected above, which prove this document to contain matter that goes back to New Testament times, allow us to infer that the notice of this Fast goes back to the time before the destruction of the second temple. But where are we to stop? That a fast-day should have been instituted between the first and second captivities to commemorate David's numbering of the people seems unlikely: the consequences of that event were not sufficiently disastrous to make this likely. On the other hand, the purpose of the Appendix to the second Book of Samuel might very possibly be to

[1] פְּקוּדָה. [2] מוֹתָן. [3] אֵשׁ וּבָרָד כָּפָן וּמוֹתָן.

explain the origin of a fast. Hence the calendars might seem to contain relics of oral tradition of great value.

Of the other notices which the Persian Calendar only contains, the most interesting is certainly post-Christian. This is that at the Feast of Purim it was the custom of the Jews to have a sort of miracle-play, at which the figure of Haman was *burned*; but the Feast was called "Haman *Crucified*." In the formula of abjuration for converted Jews, printed as an appendix to Clement of Rome, the practice of crucifying a figure ostensibly meant for Haman is mentioned and condemned; apparently in the community known to Kardizi burning was substituted, but the name "crucified," which Kardizi gives with the Mesopotamian pronunciation, was retained.

It would be expected that a nation which had passed through so many vicissitudes as the Israelites would have a very full calendar of days commemorating national joys and sorrows. Certain days would count as specially unlucky, being marked by the recurrence of calamities; and the fact of a day being already signalized by a calamity would render the occurrence of a fresh one more striking, and serve to keep it in the recollection of the people. Days which marked minor victories or defeats, or such as were too ephemeral in their effect to count as of great importance, would presently drop out of the reckoning. Hence the fact of a fast being retained, the cause of which was unknown to the Rabbis, seems a sign of good faith. Such a fast is mentioned in both the Appendix and the Persian Calendar as coming after the Days of Darkness. If the compiler had intended to falsify his table, he would surely have found no difficulty in assigning a reason for it from among the many national disasters recorded in the Bible. And, indeed, in one of the late codes[1] a suggestion is made for it: whereas Kardizi's authority made out

[1] *Sefer Kol-bo.*

that the nature of the disaster had been intentionally concealed.

It is clear that both the Fast-Scroll and the Persian Calendar show traces of a considerable amount of information that is otherwise lost to the Jews. So much of the Fast-Scroll deals with the glorious period of the Maccabees that it is sometimes called the Maccabean Scroll.[1] Some of the feasts which it mentions tally with notices in Josephus, whereas in the case of others it stands alone. The fact that many Jewish scholars in the first nine centuries of Christendom had access to Josephus and the other books concerning the Jews, which are preserved in Greek, renders it particularly difficult to sever purely Jewish tradition from that which has been contaminated from Greek sources; but the general appearance of the Fast-Scroll suggests that the text represents an authentic oral tradition, whereas the commentary is of a very mixed nature.

The latest event mentioned is probably the death of Rabbi Akiba, who is supposed to have been executed in the time of Trajan, and whom we know from the notices in Epiphanius to have been a historical personage. The Persian Calendar notes the day as a Fast-day, but the name of Akiba has dropped out, though the words which it contains about him leave no room for doubt as to his identity. But from this period the Calendar goes back with apparent continuity to the remotest antiquity of the Hebrews. And it is remarkable for both what it omits and what it includes.

As was seen above, the numbering of the people is told in an appendix to David's biography, which might seem to have been suggested by the need for the explanation of a Fast-day. The Bible once or twice points out that future generations will want to know the reason for certain

[1] So in the *Halachoth Gedoloth*.

practices, and therefore a record of them is left in writing. Fast 18, "the Death of the Tribes," seems to admit of a similar analysis. The Appendices to the Fast-Scroll and the Persian Calendar agree in commemorating the almost total extinction of the tribe of Benjamin. The story is told in the Appendix to the Book of Judges. The Book of Judges also names a day on which the death of Jephthah's daughter was commemorated, of which neither of the calendars take notice. The obvious reason is that that Fast-day was celebrated by a tribe which went into captivity and never returned thence, whereas the tribe of Benjamin did return from captivity. If we were to regard the Calendar as a conscious fabrication, it would be hard to account for the insertion of a fast not mentioned in the Book of Judges, and the omission of a fast that is mentioned there.

Fast 29, "the Fast of the Ark," commemorating the capture of the ark by the Philistines, is also common to the Hebrew and Persian Calendars. That the event is historical is probably granted by even the most sceptical; what is doubted is whether the ark ever returned. There can be no doubt that its capture would be regarded as the gravest of national disasters, which, therefore, we should expect the Calendar to commemorate. With regard to the story as told in the first Book of Samuel, there is a passage in the valuable chronicle published with the title, "Fragments of the Arabic Historians,"[1] which bears so curious a resemblance to it that it seems right to quote it here. One of the early battles of Islam is being described. "Said the Persians: Ye have slain Kutaibah; had he been one of us, and died among us, we should have regarded him as a martyr, and kept his *ark* (coffin) till the Day of Judgment, to ask aid thereof when we went on a campaign." Were it not for the shape of the ark being so carefully recorded in Exodus, we might have supposed the Israelitish

[1] *Fragmenta Historicorum Arabum*, i. 19.

ark to have had the same origin and the same purpose; but the measurements are given too accurately to admit of such a possibility.

The Jewish prayer books would seem to have been compiled in the 10th and 11th centuries. These contain services for very few of the days the observance of which is not prescribed in the Pentateuch. One of these, however, the Fast of Gedaliah, is commemorated in the Service Books. This must assuredly represent a continuous tradition; for the murder of Gedaliah was too insignificant a disaster to attract the attention of a fabricator; whereas at the time when it occurred it would be of sufficient importance to cause the anniversary of the day whereon it occurred to have melancholy associations.

Both the Persian Calendar and the Appendix state that the Day of Atonement commemorates the worship of the Calf. And, indeed, the Appendix, instead of speaking of the Day of Atonement, has the succinct notice: "On this day the worship of the Calf was expiated." The learned Jewish editor[1] of the Fast-Scroll tells us that he consulted the best authorities to find confirmation of this statement, but did not succeed. Modern critics regard the Day of Atonement as a very late institution, and very few of them would assign the episode of the Calf any historical value. It is clear that if monotheism came in with Elijah, the worship of the Calf in the wilderness would not have been criminal. It seems a bold suggestion that the calendars are here preserving a fragment of genuine tradition, yet there are grounds for making it. The worship of the Calf is as much the great national sin of the Israelites as the Exodus was the great national miracle. That a fabricator would find a day to commemorate this event and its disastrous consequences is likely; but would he have fixed on the great national fast without some authority from tradition? This

[1] J. Lev.

appears to be unlikely; and the fact that in the narrative of the Exodus Aaron takes part in the worship of the Calf agrees curiously with the doctrine that on the Day of Atonement the high priest first makes atonement for himself. The ceremonies of the Day of Atonement would appear to belong to a very extreme antiquity; and the choice remains whether we are to regard the statement of the calendars as the conjecture of a heortologist, or a fragment of genuine tradition.

If the Day of Atonement were a late innovation, it should be possible to account for its origin. This could scarcely be done with ease, and it would seem that the attempt to derive Purim from a Persian festival has been of dubious success.

Of the fasts which commemorate events connected with the history of the Bible we have already had occasion to allude to two. One is the Fast called Darkness, supposed to commemorate the darkening of the world for three days, owing to Ptolemy Philadelphus having ordered the LXX. translation to be made. The Persian Calendar exhibits on this occasion more knowledge than was possessed by the compiler of either Talmud, for it knows the name Philadelphus, which the Talmudists have lost. The conflicting notices of this holy day show us the difficulty of dealing with oral tradition. According to Philo, who ought to know, the Egyptian Jews celebrated a feast at Pharos, in memory of the LXX. translation, which they regarded justly as a national benefit. According to Josephus it was Ptolemy who celebrated a feast. And here we have the Jewish tradition maintaining that the Jews kept the day as a fast! The traditions concerning the LXX. which the Talmud contains by no means favour the view that the LXX. translation would be regarded as a national misfortune; they, moreover, contain (curiously enough) a stratum of true tradition which we gratefully accept, while numerous

errors of detail prove that they have passed through a number of inaccurate memories before being committed to paper. Perhaps the name Philadelphus was purposely omitted by the earliest recorders owing to the associations connected with that word, which would have been so painful to the Jews. The words of the Persian writer, which seem to mean "Ptolemy, at the same time that he liberated Egypt, conferred favours on the Jews, and sent them back to their own country," seem to go back to Josephus, whom it is surprising to find even so well-informed an author as Kardizi quoting in this context; but it has already been observed that the Archæology was accessible to many Jews while the Byzantine empire flourished. Whether the Darkness from which this Fast took its name was real or fictitious cannot easily be determined. It seems, indeed, analogous to the earthquake which, the Talmud tells us, signalized the translation of the Prophets by Jonathan Ben Uzziel, probably a mythical personage; and it is in favour of the antiquity and trustworthiness of the calendars that they know nothing about this; for the origin of the Targums has already been seen to be unworthy of such celebration.

Of the burning of the Law by Apostomus, which is also known to the Talmud and the Jewish liturgy, notice has already been taken. On another day the burning of the Scroll of Jeremiah was commemorated; the Fast was, according to the Persian writer, called *Kinoth*—the Hebrew for "Lamentations"; and his account of it differs somewhat from the account of the Appendix. Finally, the Fast-Scroll appears to contain a notice of the enactment forbidding the writing of other books in addition to the Law. The day whereon this event was celebrated was Tammuz 14. The reason assigned for it is that the existence of a Sadducean Scroll made it necessary to interpret literally certain passages of Scripture which it was

desirable to gloss. The particular cases cited include the precept "An eye for an eye," which, it will be remembered, is abrogated in the Gospel. The whole story, as it appears in the Fast-Scroll, seems to represent the memory of a real event, very much disfigured by alterations, intentional and unintentional.

The remaining days commemorate the deaths of leading members of the community—Moses, Aaron and his sons, Miriam, Joshua, and Samuel. In the case of some of these the date is argued out in the existing Talmud, so that there is no reason for assigning these days any high antiquity. The Appendix and the Persian Calendar agree in noticing a Fast of the Death of the Righteous, who, they say, were the leaders of the people in the time of Joshua, son of Nun.

A calendar is, it may be observed, the kind of work to which the theory of accretion is not only applicable, but best suited. As the events occur, the day of their occurrence is noted; and some days, like the ninth of Ab, are likely to acquire notoriety for ill luck. The names of the months used by the Jews were probably adopted by them in the first exile. The dates of pre-exilian disasters could then be remembered, and some of them may have been translated into the new Calendar. This collection of lucky and unlucky days was probably preserved orally, and added to as new events of importance occurred; the Maccabean period provided a number of memorable days. Whether there is any truth in the story of the composition of the Fast-Scroll narrated in the Talmud is doubtful; but the reference which has been quoted to an Apocryphal Scroll seems genuine, and this may have been the basis of the three documents which have furnished the matter for this chapter. The memory of it was best retained in an obscure and distant community, whence we owe our best knowledge of it to Abd Al-Hayy of Kardiz, who wrote in the 11th century, and of whose work a transcript of the

18th century appears to be the sole copy that remains! If a document of so late a date seem a strange source to draw from, how old, it may be asked, are the oldest known copies of the Hebrew Bible?

The place which this discussion occupies in the defence of Revelation is due to the continuity of history that such a Calendar exhibits. At each point where we can test it, it appears to display collateral knowledge to that recorded in the ordinary sources of information. At the commencement we have seen that it agrees curiously with the Gospels on the question of the acts forbidden on a Sabbath. Then it knows about Maccabean victories which the historians, having only the books of the Bible to read, have forgotten. So strange even to learned mediæval Jews was the history of the Maccabean period that the author of the famous work *Khazari* (called by the Jews *Cusari*) puts Alexander Jannæus after Christ. The destruction of written literature, the occasion of which is forgotten by the nation at large, is remembered here. The building of the Egyptian Temple by Onias, which is remembered also by the Talmudists, is commemorated, owing to its having been associated with the unlucky ninth of Ab. Where it deals with events recorded in the Bible, the Biblical passages, from the fact of their being supplements, seem rather to be commentaries on its statements than the texts which gave rise to the notices in the Calendar. For surely, had the Calendar been a compilation, in which arbitrary dates were assigned to events of national importance, such memorable days as those of the finding of the Law and the recitation of the law by Ezra ought not to have been neglected, seeing especially that the later tradition makes the former the commencement of an epoch.[1] Going back to the beginnings of Israelitish history, we find that it has an account of the Day of Atonement which is unknown to both the Bible and

[1] Targum on Ezekiel.

the tradition, and that it professes to retain the memory of an event of the time of Joshua which the ordinary tradition has at any rate forgotten.

If we compare this Calendar with the Calendar of Mohammedan Feasts that precedes it, the first fact which strikes the reader is that all the Mohammedan days commemorate events of actual, and indeed modern, history, except those of which the origin is explained by deliberate fabrication. In such cases both the time and the source of the fabrication are fairly clear. Elsewhere, though there may be some doubt concerning the correctness of the date, there is no reason to doubt the historical character of the fact recorded. If this list of Mohammedan feasts of the 11th century be compared with that of the Mohammedan feasts of the year 1900, it will appear that many of the old holy days have fallen into desuetude, but that there are no events of early history commemorated now, which were not commemorated in Kardizi's time.

Of a Calendar borrowed from another nation this would not be true. The Abyssinians strangely fast three days in commemoration of the fasting of the people of Nineveh; but nothing can be concluded therefrom except that at some time or other the example of the people of Nineveh, as recorded in the Book of Jonah, was held out to them for imitation. And, indeed, the whole Abyssinian Calendar is that of another community introduced when the Abyssinians were converted. But in the case of national calendars like those of the Jews and the Mohammedans, the point at which deliberate fiction comes in is hard to fix. The Feast of the Dedication commemorates, as we know, a historical event; the Jews had for centuries no book in which it was recorded; but the fact of the festival recurring served to retain a vague notion of the important epoch in the national history to which it belonged. In the old Calendar (which the Persian text represents) that event is already embellished

with details taken from other histories; but there is as yet nothing miraculous. By the time the Talmud is committed to writing a miracle is introduced. From the Dedication the next step takes us to the translation of the Bible and the building of the temple of Onias, both of them events that are well known to be historical, but of which the Jews preserved only vague notions. A few more steps take us to Purim, the account of the origin of which appears to be the latest book included in the Canon, and which, indeed, may be still said to be hovering about the Canon, since the Talmud has doubts about the question whether it may be written, and in a work of the 11th century it is excluded from the XXIV. Canonical Books. Thence we are carried back by easy stages to the time before the Exile, to the splitting of the nation, to the time of David, to that of Samuel, that of Eli, that of the Judges, that of Joshua, that of Moses, till we come to the sacrifice of Isaac, with which the sacred year commences, though there is a tradition that its date has been altered. The Calendar is so purely national that the commencement of Israel's influence on the nations of the world is signalized by a fast. Nothing before the time of Abraham is worthy of commemoration, but from that period onwards it continues to collect until the last relics of a Jewish state are extinguished in the time of Trajan. Of the great national Fast it can give a good account, viz., that it is for the great national sin.

Although, then, the evidence of a document so late as the Calendar, which lies at the basis of the works we have discussed, must be accepted with great caution, we seem justified in regarding it as a barrier against the wholesale discrediting of the Old Testament narratives. The distinction between good and bad days was of no slight consequence to the ancient nations; among some of them it constituted a science; and Ben-Sira parallels the inequality of different men by the inequality of different days. The fact that men,

though all of the same clay, are yet unequal is, he thinks, analogous to the unequal value of different days, all of which are produced by the same sunlight. This observation, made before the time of the Maccabees, shows that the extreme importance of the holy days which constitute the Calendar would strike any thinking man. The more celebrated of these were of course enjoined by the Law, and their observance even in Justin's time was regarded as one of the chief differences between Jews and Christians. But even those enjoined by the Law were commemorations of definite events. And this fact enabled the Calendar to grow continuously. Where the celebration was not prescribed by the Law, it was prescribed by the Rabbis.

That in certain cases, where a day counted as of good omen or as of evil omen, a cause was assigned to it by conjecture, is conceivable; but yet the acknowledgment of ignorance made by the Calendar with respect to the day which followed the Days of Darkness seems a decided mark of good faith. And another is found in the comparative unimportance of the events commemorated: thus the death of the sons of Aaron would appear to have been of very trivial consequence in the evolution of Israelitish history, but it has a day, whereas the deaths of Saul and David have none. The ordinary sign of natural growth as opposed to fabrication is the absence of system; for in performances of the latter kind the effects of accident, though not negligible, are considerably restricted. Whereas in the case of what grows by nature the range of accident (by which the working of forces that cannot be mathematically measured is meant) is very wide.

The more, then, we regard the Biblical grouping of Israelitish history as correct, the more easily shall we be able to interpret the Calendar by it, and it by the Calendar. If the legend of the compiling of the Fast-Scroll some time during the century before the destruction of the second

temple be correct, and the number of days assigned in it to events connected with the Maccabees lends it some colour, the work then done will rather have been the regulation and codification of existing practice than the assignation of dates to events deserving of commemoration. Possibly at the time when it was compiled the list of acts that might not be done on the Sabbath was also provisionally fixed; polemical interests may have caused its later alteration. And here it may be regretted that so little of the talent that has been spent on the analysis and grouping of partly imaginary codes, supposed to be contained in the Bible, has been devoted to the comparison of the codes actually existing among the Jews; for any scientific account of the Old Testament must deal primarily with the form of it current among the Jews, and communication therewith can only be secured by advancing to it through the outworks of comments wherewith the Rabbis have surrounded it.

D. S. Margoliouth.

THE TERRORS OF THE SUN AND OF THE MOON.

When the Psalmist says to me (Ps. cxxi. 5, 6)—

> The Lord is thy Keeper:
> The Lord is thy shade upon thy right hand:
> The sun shall not smite thee by day,
> Nor the moon by night,—

I must needs be delighted, not only with the most comfortable assurance conveyed to me, but also with the charmingly picturesque way in which it is expressed. It is the fashion to lament the decay of poetic feeling under modern conditions of life amongst the general mass of our people. But one must not forget that Religion is the foster-mother of Poetry; that of all books the Bible is most full of poetry; that no one can really know and love

his Bible without acquiring (however unwillingly) a true and deep sympathy with that which is most poetic both in conception and in expression. That is not the highest reason for earnestly desiring that the masses of our fellow-countrymen should know and love their Bibles—far from it. But it is one additional reason for dreading that general unacquaintance with the Bible which prevails in certain lands.

The Psalmist's saying is, of course, a great deal more than charmingly picturesque: it contains much more than a comfortable assurance of protection. It goes deep down into human experience, and so divides it into two, that all things do really fall on this side or on that in a very true and marked sense. The sun which smites (or burns) by day, and the moon which threatens to do the same by night, stand very simply and intelligibly—and were, we venture to believe, *meant* to stand—for two widely separated sets of hostile influences. The sun by day is an enemy that cannot possibly be ignored. He is only too patent and obtrusive. In tropical and semi-tropical countries—and at certain times in almost all countries—he flames upon us all day long, and his level rays are even more dangerous than his midday scorch. Only a man without any experience would ever think or speak lightly of the terrors of the sun by day. The moon by night, on the other hand, is not really dangerous. Ask the man of science whether the sun's rays as reflected from the lunar orb can do any harm, and he will assuredly answer "no." Ask the most experienced medical man whether there is any truth in the popular stories of moon-struck folk, and he will certainly deny it. To lie with uncovered face beneath the open sky when the dew is falling has caused many an illness, but the beams of the moon had nothing to do with it. So they will say who ought to know, and we cannot gainsay. The moon does not smite by night.

Be it so. It is, then, an unreal or imaginary terror, as contrasted with the very real and well-founded terror inspired by the sun. That suits the purpose of the Psalmist perfectly, for it tells us, in the most picturesque and persuasive way possible, that the Lord is our defence quite as much (since it is as much needed) against imaginary as against real dangers. To take a very homely example: there are people who live in constant dread of cancer, others who live in constant fear of ghosts. It is not any use to say that if they do they are fools. Perhaps the majority of mankind will always be fools, for they will be uneducated peasants, women with nerves, children in the nursery stage. All these are apt to suffer, more or less, from fear of ghosts, of apparitions, of "spirits." Did not Christ die for fools, even more (if possible) than for wise people? Is it not certainly true that the one remedy which cannot fail against imaginary, as against real, dangers, enemies, terrors, is to place oneself consciously under the shadow of His all-loving, all-powerful protection? Nothing can hurt then, whether it exists or is only fancied to exist; whether it has a certain power to strike, or merely seems to lurk in the dark.

We deceive ourselves in this matter because we have in our own land and age so successfully got rid of "ghosts." We have got rid of them, and all their kind, in virtue of the steady and victorious progress of the secular, the materialistic, spirit of the age. It has helped us greatly here, so much so that for the educated and enlightened imaginary terrors have almost ceased to exist. We are thankful, but none the less do we recognise that this is not God's way—it is not the method of Christ's religion. It is far too expensive, for one thing: the spirit of the age which kills superstition does its best to kill faith too, and has largely succeeded. For another thing, it acts too partially; those who are seen and heard, who come to

the surface, are delivered from ghosts; the dim multitude below are not. The method of Christ's religion is not to tell people that there *are* no ghosts, but to tell them that, even though there were, they cannot possibly do any harm, they need not certainly cause any terror, to those that abide under the shadow of His wings. Such a method only befits the *universal* character and the *positive* character of Christ's religion: whereas the spirit of the age, though it sometimes works to the same ends, must needs work by methods which are negative and partial.

There is an excellent instance of the Bible method in Romans viii. at the end. In that splendid passage St. Paul repeats in a form more rhetorical but less poetical the assurances of Psalm cxxi. Nothing can separate us from the love of God which is in Christ Jesus our Lord. Nothing, however formidable: neither life nor death; neither angels, nor principalities, nor powers; neither things present nor things to come; neither height nor depth, nor any other creature. Now, as soon as ever we examine this list, we perceive that while many of the items are but too severely real—like life and death—others are mere creatures of the imagination. "Height" and "depth" have no actual existence. They are mere abstractions, conceptions of the human mind, products of that law of thinking according to which we are forced to arrange all things in time and space. Man, who is for ever being whirled about in space, is nevertheless obliged to think of himself as though he abode on a fixed point with a line stretching straight up above him for ever, which he calls "height," and another stretching straight down below him without end, which he calls "depth." It is not any way possible (and St. Paul must have known it was not) that these abstractions, these creatures of the imagination which have no real existence, should ever intervene between the faithful soul and the God and Father of

our Lord Jesus Christ. You might as well ransack Euclid, or the tables of navigation, for possible enemies of the soul. You might as well go about to assure the anxious disciple that the square root of minus one could not and should not separate him from the love of God. Why, then, does the Apostle mention height and depth alongside of death and life and other most real and potent causes of fear? Because he is rhetorical, and his rhetoric leads him to write what is in effect nonsense? Rhetorical he is, and that must be honestly allowed for; but withal never anything but practical, because always concerned with the facts of the spiritual life. What he means is just what the Psalmist meant, that neither real dangers nor imaginary dangers are to be feared, neither the smiting of the sun by day nor of the moon by night. Of course he did not pick up those words "height" and "depth" at haphazard. Religion was curiously mixed up with cosmogony then, as it was afterwards with astrology. The jargon of the Gnostics in the second and third centuries is more or less familiar to all readers of Church history. Nothing is more distinctive of it than the juxtaposition of abstract names belonging to their pseudo-science of time and space with the names of most real and sacred personages. The forerunners of these men were among the religious impostors of St. Paul's age, and were nowhere more influential than in the province of Asia. Such terms as "height" and "depth" were often on their lips, and served to impress and alarm the ignorant and feeble-minded. Men did really fear lest their eternal future should be blasted through the malign influences of these abstract notions, these creatures of the mind! St. Paul does not stop to distinguish, to argue, to show up the unreason of such fears. It would not be like him to do so. It is enough for him that such fears did in fact exist. It is not in the least necessary (he would say) to discuss

that question *now*. Whether what you fear has any actual existence or not, makes (thank God) no difference in this respect. *Whatever* it is, however awfully real, however absurdly unreal, it cannot possibly do you any harm if you are in Christ. You may, by dint of education, be quite inaccessible to visionary terrors, or you may by character and training be a lifelong victim to them; it matters not. If you know what the Lord is to His own, you know that no conceivable power in earth or heaven can *really* harm you, since nothing has any efficacy against Him or His. The Lord Jesus is your Keeper: He is your shelter and shade: the sun shall not smite you by day, neither the moon by night.

We may go further in the same direction without going too far. What are these "principalities," these "powers," of which he speaks in this same significant passage? Do they belong, as the angels do, to the category of the real, though unfamiliar? Or, like "height" and "depth," to the category of the unreal? The names are, of course, fairly common; they recur in the writings of St. Paul; they were full of suggestion to those (and they were many) who had dabbled in the half-Jewish, half-Persian, lore of the day. But had they any real existence for St. Paul himself? That is a question which does not seem to have been frankly discussed. It has been assumed (in forgetfulness of the "height" and "depth" of Romans viii. 39) that whenever he mentions any names or titles of hostile beings, he must be taken to assert that such beings do in fact exist, and are in truth formidable. Devout people, *e.g.*, reading in Ephesians vi., feel themselves bound by the rules of faith to believe that the world at large, and especially the sub-celestial region of the atmosphere which surrounds the earth, is full of evil spirits of varying rank; that all these spiritual existences, so many and so powerful as they be, are the sworn enemies of the servants of God, and are

for ever exerting themselves to compass the destruction of our souls. This belief, which is nominally common to Catholics and Protestants, is well expressed in a story not unfrequently quoted in English pulpits. A certain saint, beginning his journey on the narrow way, was accorded a vision for his more enlightenment; and in his vision he saw the whole world full of devils who set gins and snares and prepared traps and pitfalls in every conceivable place to catch the followers of Christ. It is not necessary to criticise this story, because it merely expresses somewhat crudely what most Christians profess to believe, and what St. Paul seems to teach, concerning the "principalities" and "powers" of evil. With respect, however, to that teaching, two things fall to be considered which cannot possibly be ignored. The first is, that there is no such doctrine about devils in any other part of St. Paul's writings. In the Epistle to the Romans, *e.g.*, it is admitted that he goes into the deepest things of temptation, of sin, of spiritual life and health, disease and death. One stands amazed, even to one's latest reading, at the profoundness of his insight, the boldness of his analysis. But he has nothing to tell us of, nothing to warn us of, as regards devils. It is most emphatically true that in this Epistle our wrestling is *not* against principalities, or powers, or world-rulers of a darkened sphere, or spiritual hordes in the upper strata of the atmosphere, but precisely against that flesh and blood which cannot inherit the kingdom of heaven, against the old fallen nature within us, against that worse self which we have inherited as members of a sinful race, against that incorrigible passion of wrong desire which the very law of God has initiated and stimulated into fatal activity within us. St. Paul's astonishing presentation of his double self in chap. vii. may be full of difficulties, but it is accepted by the universal conscience as substantially true; and it leaves practically no room for

the activity of devils. You may introduce the agency of devils in the interests of theology; but in fact their presence is superfluous, and what men believe of them is purely formal and inoperative. "Wrestling" there is, God knows, bitter wrestling, without end, and sometimes almost without hope. But it is so terrible because it is against the unregenerate self, against the indomitable desires of the flesh and of the mind; *not* a thousand times, *not* against such vague and outside influences as "principalities" and "powers." Moreover it is obvious that with this agree altogether St. Peter and St. James. With the former it is "fleshly lusts which war against the soul," not spiritual intelligences out of the awful unknown. With the latter it is plain certainty that whosoever is tempted is so simply because he is drawn away by his own lust and enticed.

It is not of course denied that both St. Paul in the Romans (and elsewhere), and St. Peter in his Epistle, are aware of the working of a Satan, an adversary, whose rage against the servants of Christ may be discerned in the systematic opposition and even persecution which they have learnt to expect. It is not forgotten that St. James recalls the characteristic behaviour of those evil spirits in Galilee of whom his Master cast so many out of the bodies of unhappy men and women. But there is nothing in these references (whatever difficulties of their own they may raise) which at all resembles that vast counter-hierarchy of malignant spiritual intelligences which St. Paul dimly outlines for us in Ephesians vi. There is indeed an appearance of unity and harmony in the kingdom of darkness which suggests the existence, behind the scenes, of a single evil will of vast power and resource; there are facts connected with the life-history of many people in many lands which point to the likelihood of their being "possessed," apart from express statements of Holy Writ. It

is, at any rate, quite open to Christian people to believe this much concerning infernal existences and agencies, and yet to disbelieve utterly in the principalities and powers, the world-rulers and the spiritual hordes of that passage in Ephesians. In order to bring that passage into harmony with other apostolic writings it would be necessary to assume that it embodies a fresh revelation of the unseen; for the Apostles show no consciousness elsewhere that we have to fight (as Christians) against devils. Let us then ask whether this can in truth be held to be a further revelation from God. If it be, it will of course be true whether we believe it or not. But, more than that, the truth of it will also vindicate itself (like the truth of the Incarnation of the Son of God) in the thinking and living of Christians. Now this doctrine about devils is—and this is our second point—dead, so far as intelligent Christian people are concerned. It has died a natural death, because in all their efforts to live up to their high calling no place for devils has been found. Most of these good people, perhaps, have retained a nominal belief in devils, because they understood they ought to; but the belief has been almost entirely nominal and inoperative. When it *had* some vitality, as in the case of Dunstan, or of Luther, the result has been simply a laughter and an astonishment to the world. In its vulgar form the belief in devils (quite naturally derived from the passage in Ephesians) has been killed for us by such efforts as the *Ingoldsby Legends* and Burns's "Address to the De'il." *It could not have been killed, even in its vulgar form, if it had had any vital connection with the true religion of a Christian.* But it has not. The more intensely a man realizes the awful and almost overwhelming importance of the strife to which he is called, the more exclusively will he be taken up with his sinful and treacherous self, the more intently will he fasten his eyes upon the weak points in his own character. That he will look up, and look off,

is indeed most certain; not, however, to those sub-celestial regions where malignant spirits do congregate and hatch their plots against men, but to that one place in the unseen where Christ sitteth at the right hand of God. It is not any use to deny that it is so. This celebrated passage forms the theme of many sermons, but it stands in no real connection with the life-struggle of any single Christian person. There may be "principalities" and "powers"; but for us they are unreal, they may be frankly treated as non-existent (like "height" and "depth"); the less we think about them—save as mere matter for theological speculation—the better. Like the "meats" of which it speaks in the Epistle to the Hebrews, they have not profited them that have been occupied therewith. Why does no one nowadays put Monro's *Allegories* into the hands of his children? Because they are full of devils, of spiritual hordes of wickedness infesting the world, plotting and fighting against the souls of the faithful. Ask a good Christian parent whether such teaching is untrue to Scripture, and he will probably evade the question; but all the same he will quite rightly feel that such teaching is unwholesome and undesirable for his child. In short, if we want to put ourselves in harmony with what is truest and soundest in the almost universal conviction of Christian people nowadays, we could not do better than invert the saying of the Apostle, and read it thus: "For our wrestling is not against the principalities, the powers, the world-rulers, etc., but against flesh and blood, against the unregenerate self, against the law of sin which is in our members."

It remains to account for the passage as it stands; and herein we have the key ready to our hands in Romans viii. 38–39. There we have things so obviously and undeniably unreal as "height" and "depth" caught up by the undiscriminating sweep of the Apostle's rhetoric side by side with

other things so tremendously real as life and death. The very purpose of the passage is to collect and include all conceivable terrors, actual or imaginary, in one group, and to strike them *all* out in the name of Christ. The sun by day, the moon by night, neither shall have power to hurt or terrify any more. And along with life and death, with height and depth, we find already "principalities" and "powers" the nucleus, evidently, of that extended list of spiritual foes which bewilders us in Ephesians vi. If we are to estimate this latter passage aright, we must never forget that amongst the Ephesians (as amongst their Colossian neighbours) there existed a half-Jewish cultus of angels blended with a largely developed oriental demonology. When people become Christians, they do not take a sponge and wipe out once and for ever all the religious impressions previously made upon their minds. On the contrary, the mind of a Christian convert is a palimpsest, in which the Christian faith is written over what was there before; and what was there before frequently comes to view again —especially what does not seem contrary to the Christian faith, but may be regarded as supplemental to it. Now St. Paul was, above everything, practical—one might almost venture to say too much so. If he had a fault *in method*, it was that he was almost too ready to make himself all things to all men, so that he *seemed* to contradict himself, *seemed* to play fast and loose with his principles, *seemed* to agree with people when he really did not. His ardour for the salvation of men led him so eagerly to put himself in their place, to see things with their eyes, that he unquestionably laid himself open to misconstruction. In this matter also love is ready to run all risks, having so great an end in view; but in this matter also love has to take the consequences of its daring, and sometimes they are disastrous. The Ephesian Christians believed very much in "principalities" and "powers." They always had so believed, and as Christians

they had not been taught otherwise. Indeed as a mere matter of speculation it was open to Christians, as to others, to people the upper air with spiritual intelligences. But it was not any part of the faith which is in Christ: and for St. Paul himself it certainly had not any particular significance —as his other Epistles testify. Nevertheless in writing to the Ephesians he would fain become as an Ephesian, in order that he might enter into their religious anxieties, and show them how to rise above them. "Be it so" (he says in effect) "that you and I do not fear so much what *man* can do unto us—though I myself have 'fought with beasts' in your cities—but *are* terribly afraid of those awful unseen powers of evil, in whose grasp we seem so helpless. Be it so. It is not necessary to enquire just now whether these terrors are real or imaginary, nor is it desirable. Be it as bad as it can possibly be thought. Principalities, powers, world-rulers, spiritual hordes—whosoever, whatsoever, wheresoever, they be—you are as Christians fully armed against them, you have only to use your arms in order to be absolutely safe, and certainly victorious. You and I do not fear the smiting of the sun by day: we are in fact so used to it that we have measured and allowed for its dangers, and to a great extent dismissed them from our minds. But we *do* fear the smiting of the moon by night, so subtle, so incalculable, so disquieting. Be it so: to them that trust in God and serve the Lord Jesus Christ, the terrors of the moon by night shall be as little formidable as those of the sun by day."

We are not of course to conclude that all this was as distinctly in the Apostle's mind as we have set it down here. It is like enough that he had a certain hesitating, speculative belief in the existence, energy, malignity, of such an infernal hierarchy. But whatever this half-belief amounted to, it was no part of the faith which he taught in all the Churches. It formed no part of his religion, practically. Only it enabled

him, without any dishonesty, to put himself into line with these Ephesians for the moment, and to show them, from their own point of view, how to meet these terrors of the imagination. It is indeed often assumed that an inspired Apostle must either have certainly believed *or* emphatically disbelieved, anything and everything called religious. There is no ground for such an assumption. In every age and land there has been a wide margin of half-beliefs which form no part of the vital and effective faith of the man, but which often betray their existence in his speech and writing. It is in perfect keeping with all we know of inspiration that this should have been the case with St. Paul. It is impossible to determine how much or how little he himself believed in all these principalities and powers of evil. It is enough that, if anybody else believe in them, he may learn to go fully armed against them, neither open to their assault nor afraid of their terror. It does not matter at all whether there be any reality about them, or whether they be wholly visionary. The disciple of the Lord is defended against terrors of the imagination as well as against those of real life. The sun shall not smite him by day, neither the moon by night. After all is said, there remains the possibility that the moon *does* smite by night in some way unknown at present to science. Seafaring men, and men whose business keeps them much beneath the open sky at night, obstinately assert that the danger exists. Their opinion is not worth very much perhaps. Be it so. We have no desire to adopt it. Still, there *may* be worth in it. And there may, after all, be mysteries of infernal activity which threaten us from out the unseen. It is *possible* that the belief of Christians may swing back in this respect to that of the earliest age at Ephesus. It does not matter, for the question is not practical. It is certainly the sun by day against which we have to guard ourselves with care. As for the danger of the moon by night, it is enough

to know for certain that neither need we be the least afraid of *that*.

RAYNER WINTERBOTHAM.

HISTORICAL COMMENTARY ON THE EPISTLES TO THE CORINTHIANS.

XXVII. THE CORINTHIAN PHILOSOPHERS.

THE questions put by the Corinthians to St. Paul were suggested to them by the pressing calls and difficulties of their present situation—a scanty, needy group, almost submerged in the surrounding ocean of Paganism, keeping their heads above it only with difficulty, and with a constant tendency to sink again beneath the surface.

The Christians in Corinth had just risen out of the dead level of Paganism. The first effort had carried them clear above the surface; but reaction was inevitable, and with it many of them were in danger of sinking back again—probably some actually did sink.

We all know how difficult it is to sustain one's self permanently above the moral level of society, and with what force surrounding society continually presses us into itself. But if we feel this when we are trained up from infancy amidst influences and exhortations reminding us that it is our duty to try to rise above the level of society, how much more must the Corinthians have felt it when this idea of moral elevation had been presented new to them after they were grown to mature age, and still more after the voice of their first teacher was withdrawn from them and they were left to struggle alone!

Again, we have grown up amid an atmosphere and spirit in society and in education which Christianity has created. Even those who now strenuously resist Christianity cannot, if they would, free themselves from what it has planted

in them and fashioned around them; in fact, they do not wish to free themselves, for they have never realized that they owe to Christianity much of what they most value in themselves, and, especially, that they owe to it the spirit which leads them to regard religion from the moral point of view and to probe and test it as a moral influence.

But those converts from Paganism were suddenly brought into contact with this Christian spirit as a novelty. Nothing in their past experience had prepared them for it. They were beginning to attempt to live a life which had to rest upon a totally new and strange basis of thought and ideas and philosophy. The need for some such basis was forced even on the least thoughtful among them. In the present time many of us contrive to pass through life without thinking much about the philosophy on which our life and conduct rest; but that is due to the fact that, in our early training, and amid the pressure of society and education and home influences, some such philosophic basis has been made part of our nature by so insensible a process that many of us never become conscious that we are practical philosophers: we solve the philosophic problem by walking where we have been taught to walk, and never know that we have been solving it.

But it was different in Corinth, where the incongruity between their old mental equipment and the conduct which they were now aiming at was constantly forced upon the new converts. They must think: they must try to frame some scheme to co-ordinate their life: they must try in a groping, blind, tentative way to make a new philosophy fitted to their new life. Yet their old ideas and ways of thinking could not be easily got rid of, and were constantly liable to cause them perplexity when they tried to reason about life and conduct. In many practical questions—where we will unconsciously and unintelligently choose the right way because we do what our mothers taught us from

infancy—the new converts, if they acted unconsciously and unintelligently, doing what they had learned from infancy, would choose the wrong way; and the only method by which they could enter on the right way was by conscious, deliberate choice. It is always easy to err: it was doubly easy for the Corinthians to err, when they were trying to reason about the right course in many of the situations in which they might daily be placed. Yet they must reason and weigh arguments about matters which afterwards were gradually settled by the experience and errors of generations. They were beginning to put together in practice the first planks of the platform on which Christian society should rest, or rather to try how much of the existing pagan platform could be used and how much must be destroyed before a Christian society became possible.

Slowly a new fabric was built up. Names, forms of politeness, social customs, methods of address, and so on, in time became settled in Christian forms, partly inherited with little or no change from pagan society, partly remade in substitution for rejected parts of the old pagan fabric. The older forms had been leavened deeply with Paganism, and the question was continually forcing itself on every Christian's attention, how far might he use forms that had some pagan association without thereby expressing veneration for pagan deities and ideas?—at what point must he draw the line and cease to use those forms and ideas? The answer was often most perplexing.

For example, take the mere question of names. Was it permissible for Christians to bear names connected with heathen gods? If a Christian answered to the name Demetrios, Dionysodoros, Menophantos, did he thereby profess respect for Demeter, Dionysos, or Men? The answer here was comparatively easy, and yet it was not uniform. It was not necessary to proscribe such names. Yet many of them passed—some quickly, some slowly—out

of Christian use, while some acquired new associations: Dionysios and Demetrios ceased to suggest the pagan gods, and only reminded Christians of the saints so named. Many new and purely Christian names were introduced, *e.g.* Anastasios, Agape, Renatus, Kyriakos, etc.; others, which were rare or not extremely common among the pagans, such as Elpis, Eirene, Sozomenos and Sozomene, became fashionable among the Christians.[1]

But that is one of the simplest questions that were daily presented to the Corinthians for decision. Amid these difficulties they would long for the presence of an authorized teacher; and we can well understand that they mentioned in their letter to Paul how much, after his departure, they appreciated Apollos's work among them, and how they were eager for his return to them (xvi. 12).

Prof. Findlay has well expressed in his restoration of their letter the feeling of the Corinthians on this subject;[2] and he has rightly apprehended the bearing of *Acts* xviii. 27 f. on the situation in Corinth. Apollos's work in Corinth "helped them much which had believed." As usual, Luke's history placards before us, as it were in big letters,[3] the one most critical fact: Apollos came in rather to help

[1] See *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, ii. p. 491 ff. Agape may yet be discovered in a pagan inscription, as Sozomene has been at Blaundos, see Buresch, *Aus Lydien*, p. 120.

[2] "Apollos . . . rendered us welcome and fruitful service after thy departure . . . Happily at thy request he will come again to Corinth and resume his work among us: this we earnestly desire and entreat."—Expositor, June, p. 403.

[3] As Mr. C. F. Andrews, Pembroke College, Cambridge, points out, *Gal.* iii. 1 and vi. 11 show the same thought burning in Paul's mind and guiding his expression. Formerly he had "placarded" Christ before their eyes. Now he takes the pen, at the end of the letter, to placard before them in "big striking letters" the main thoughts of the preceding chapters. In a sense he was not above "advertising" his Gospel: he chooses that word to express his method: προγράφω is literally to advertise, προγραφή an advertisement, and they are used, *e.g.*, of advertising a sale, a meeting, the business of a public assembly, etc., and in ancient times advertisement by multiplication of small copies was not possible, only by announcements posted in a prominent place where they would be readily seen by many people.

the existing converts in their need than to make new converts.

We need not therefore wonder that the Corinthians philosophized, and suggested to St. Paul plans for regenerating society. They were bound to do so. Nor need we wonder if they were just a little too well pleased with their own plans. The young philosopher is generally pleased with his new scheme of life; and the young reformer is generally confident that he is on the point of restoring purity, and with it happiness, to mankind. Still less should we sneer at the mistakes that they made, even the backslidings and crimes that they did not succeed in avoiding, as if these showed that their new religion had failed to affect them. The greatest miracle in history is the way in which the lofty simplicity of Christianity entered the heart of such a world as that of Corinth in spite of the deadening power of society and education; those who most study contemporary life in the Græco-Roman world will most wonder at the miracle.

XXVIII. Meat of Sacrificed Animals.

One of the difficulties constantly besetting the new converts in a city like Corinth was whether they ought to eat the flesh of animals that had been offered in sacrifice to a pagan deity. The ordinary sacrifice among the Greeks was not burned: only the uneatable parts of the animal were given to the gods, while the useful meat was eaten. Much of the flesh that was set on the table in private houses, or that was exposed for sale in the market, had been cut from the sacrificial victims. Had it thereby become polluted? Could the person who ate it be considered to be assisting, as a sort of accessory after the fact, in sacrificing to an idol?

The Apostolic Decree, *Acts* xv. 29, had ordered the converts in the province of Syria-Cilicia to abstain from

such meat; and Paul himself had impressed this duty also on his Galatian Churches, *Acts* xvi. 4. Considering how emphatically he speaks in this Epistle of the uniformity of his teaching in all the Churches,[1] one can hardly avoid the conclusion that he had delivered also to the Corinthian Church "the Decrees for to keep."

But when this order came to be carried out, it involved many difficulties. Was the Christian bound to enquire carefully and find out whether every piece of meat offered for sale in a shop was sacrificial? If he omitted to ask, and bought and ate such meat, had he been guilty of sin? If he asked, and received false information, which led him to eat such meat, was he guilty of sin? If he were eating in the house of a non-Christian friend or relative, was he bound to ask about the previous history of every dish on the table, outraging all courtesy thereby, and often putting questions which the host would be really unable to answer? Such practical difficulties would meet the Corinthian Christians frequently, unless they went out of the world, and lived entirely separate from surrounding society, thereby losing all opportunity of influencing their neighbours.

Evidently the Corinthians put these and similar difficulties before Paul, and indicated their answer. They could not accept the Apostolic Decree as right in this point. It was contrary to the knowledge, the discernment of moral truth (γνῶσις), which they felt in their own heart and conscience.[2] They all perceived with inevitable and overpowering certainty that an idol was naught. How

[1] vii. 17.

[2] I regret to see Prof. Findlay, in his new edition of 1 *Corinthians*, rejects the translation of viii. 2, "we know that we all have knowledge," as tautologous, and renders "we know, because we all have knowledge." The tautology lies only in the wrong use of one English term, know and knowledge, to translate two very distinct Greek terms, οἶδα and γνῶσις. The meaning really is, "we know that we all possess the power of discerning truth." See Evans.

could a piece of meat become unclean through the influence of that which was naught. The idol had neither existence nor power, and could not affect the meat. It would therefore be absurd and irrational to act as if the idol could harm the meat. Nay, it would even be wrong so to act, for it would be a practical teaching of the false doctrine, that these false gods possess real existence and power whereas we know that no idol is anything in the world, and that there is no God but one.

In answer Paul, of course, did not quote the Apostolic Decree. They knew it, and their knowledge had only led them to controvert its orders. In fact the Decree formed the text of the present discussion.

Moreover, it would be worse than useless to refer those young philosophers—bent on thinking for themselves and understanding all things, proud of their own capacity for discerning moral truth—to a formal Decree. They must feel the truth spring from their own mind, not have it given to them by external authority.

And so Paul proceeds to expound the philosophic basis on which that prohibition in the Apostolic Decree rested. The Christian society must be built up upon mutual sympathy and courtesy. The brother must not merely be courteous to his pagan host. He must also be courteous to his hesitating, doubtful, scrupulous, not very strong or discerning Christian brother. This true courtesy comes only through sympathy and love. The pure intellectual discernment of truth might only make them self-confident and unsympathetic towards their brethren.

After the preceding remarks were in print I observed how admirably Professor Knowling has expressed the same thought in his recent edition of Acts:[1] "St. Paul's language in 1 *Corinthians* viii. 1–13, x. 14–22, *Romans* xiv., may fairly be said to possess the spirit of the Decree, and to

[1] *Expositor's Greek Testament*, ii. p. 336.

mark the discriminating wisdom of one eager to lead his disciples behind the rule to the principle."

Formerly, the Apostolic Decree seemed to me a compromise;[1] and, from a certain point of view, it may be called a compromise; but that point of view is external and unintelligent. The Decree was really the brief practical expression of the sympathetic fellow-feeling which ought to bind together the two elements in the Christian Church, Gentile and Jew; but it stated only the result, and St. Paul now explains to the Corinthians the moral grounds on which it was based.

I might here reproduce almost entirely the excellent paper of Prof. W. Lock on this chapter (EXPOSITOR, July, 1897, p. 66 ff.); but it is the shorter way to ask the reader to turn to those pages. Only on one serious point might a modification be desired in his exposition. He says that "the reason why St. Paul does not quote the Decree" is that "the circumstances had changed." I think we have seen a more satisfactory reason: the Decree is not quoted, because it is the topic under discussion. It is exactly as in the Epistle to the Galatians. Scholars have argued that, since the Apostolic Council and Decree are not mentioned elsewhere in that Epistle, they must be meant in ii. 1–10. But they are not mentioned, because they are the main topic of controversy: they are burning in the minds of all parties, and hence they are not formally appealed to.

XXIX. OFFICIALS IN THE CORINTHIAN CHURCH.

In view of the situation described in § XXVII. the provision of permanent officers and guides among the Corinthians was also urgently necessary. In *Acts* nothing is recorded of any such provision as regards Corinth. But it has been pointed out[2] that when the author of *Acts* mentions the institution of officials by Paul in his first Churches,

[1] *St. Paul the Traveller*, p. 172. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 121 f.

and when the existence of officials is elsewhere implied in many of the later Churches, Ephesus, Philippi, Thessalonica, though their appointment is not mentioned in *Acts*, all who appreciate the methodical expression of Luke must infer that the first case is intended to be typical of the appointments made in all later cases. Paul directed that officials should be appointed in every Church, and prescribed a method which involved voting of the congregation under the direction and presidence of some apostolic representative, who had considerable powers to instruct the body of voters as to method and probably to reject unsuitable names. See *Titus* i. 5–7, 1 *Tim.* iii.

Some scholars, indeed, consider that the absence of any reference to *Presbyteroi* in this Epistle is a sufficient proof that none were instituted in Corinth. The silence is, perhaps, a sufficient proof that the institution had in Corinth failed in its purpose; and the ill-success may be traced in such passages as xi. 21, xiv. 26 ff.; but it cannot prove that no officers had been appointed, in view of two passages.

(1) In ix. 28 "helpings, governings," must be taken as an expression equivalent to "officers to help the poor, and direct the business of the congregation," and it is clear that all the kinds of personages there enumerated, from "Apostles" to "tongues," were known in the Corinthian Church. There were therefore in that Church officers charged with certain administrative duties.

(2) In ix. 12 it is clearly implied that there were persons receiving salaries or maintenance from the Church in Corinth;[1] and Paul claims an equal right to receive maintenance: "if others partake of this right over you, do not we yet more?" It seems impossible to suppose

[1] This is fully conceded by Prof. Findlay, in his recent edition of 1 *Corinthians* in the *Expositor's Greek Testament*, ii. p. 849; and he is one of the scholars who maintain most positively that Paul had refrained from appointing any officers at Corinth (pp. 732, 950).

that the right was conceded to unauthorized and merely volunteer teachers and speakers. The right of maintenance by the Church involves formal recognition and appointment of those persons by the Church.

The inference from those passages is plain. There were in the Corinthian Church paid officials charged with administrative duties. These can hardly have been chosen except from among the seniors and men of experience; but the name *Presbyteroi*, "elders," does not seem to have been applied to them in Corinth. Titles were, at first, determined in the Church more by local usage and language than by a formal and universal rule. Now the word *presbyteroi*, as a title, was not much used in Greece, but it was common in Asia Minor.

The inscriptions are clear on that point. *Presbyteroi* are mentioned in many parts of Asia Minor as members of a body possessed of a high social standing and something of an official character. That body was commonly called the *Gerousia*, but its members were spoken of at Chios, Cos, Iasos, Ephesus, Smyrna, Philadelphia, Magnesia *ad Mæandrum*, and many other places, as the *Presbyteroi*; in Eumeneia and Hieropolis as the *Geraioi*,[1] and the entire body was occasionally mentioned as the *Synedrion* or *Systema* of the *Presbyteroi*. Thus the Christians of that country were accustomed to regard the name *Presbyteros* as a noun, implying something of rank, standing, age, and even official position; and it was readily applied to the body of persons selected as *Elders*, experienced and trusty, to manage the business of the congregation. But in Greece proper and in Macedonia the word *presbyteros* was hardly

[1] See the following note. There has been much dispute as to the character of the Gerousia in cities of Asia Minor; it varied to some extent, in some places having more of an official character, in others being more purely social; see Lévy, in *Revue des Ét. Gr.*, 1895, p. 231 ff.; Kühn, *Stadtverw. im röm. Kaiserr.*, 565; Hogarth in *Journal of Philology*, xix. 70 ff.; Ramsay, *Cities and Bish. of Phr.*, i. p. 111.

used except as an adjective, "older," and conveyed none of the meaning that people in Asia Minor associated with it as a noun.[1]

A parallel variation is seen in early Christian usage. Clement *ad Cor.* 1 and 21 distinguishes *Presbyteroi* as "elderly men" from the officials *Hegoumenoi,* in Corinth, and from *Proïgoumenoi* in Rome. In Thessalonica Paul mentions the *Proïstamenoi,* in Philippi the *Episkopoi.* In the cities of Lycaonia and Eastern Phrygia (*i.e.* South Galatia), Luke mentions *Presbyteroi,* as he does also in Jerusalem. In Ephesus the names *Episkopoi* and *Presbyteroi* are both used.[2] *Prostamenos* is used in a Phrygian early Christian inscription (of the fourth century, probably); and the term *Geraioi* was perhaps used in Eumeneia, *Proëdroi* in Hierapolis.[3] Thus even in districts where the term *Presbyteros* was known it was not uncommon for persons who paid some attention to style and accuracy of Greek to use a more correct Greek word. *Presbyteros* as a title was felt to be a little slangy, and was tabooed by purists.

The most correct Greek usage evidently was a participle, such as *Hegoumenoi* or *Proïstamenoi,* "the leading men,"

[1] The relation of the Christian usage of *presbyteros* to local expression has not escaped Prof. Deissmann, who treats it at some length in his *Bibelstudien,* p. 153 f., and *Neue Bibelstudien,* p. 61 f. He points out that official *Presbyteroi* are often mentioned in Egypt and in Asia Minor. One desiderates in his remarks (as often throughout his admirable and suggestive studies) a livelier sense of the quality of Greek expression, and a perception of the fact that persons who wrote and spoke Greek of a higher and more cultured style would avoid the term. He also points out, what I have omitted above, that the term *proëgoumenos* was applied to the president of the *presbyteroi* or geraioi in some parts of Asia Minor.

[2] See *Acts* xx. 17, 28, confirmed by 1 *Tim.* iii. 17. There can be no reasonable doubt that Timothy was addressed as being in a kind of charge over the Asian Churches.

[3] See *Cities and Bish. of Phrygia,* ii. pp. 520, 548. *Geraios* in Eumeneia has as yet been found only in Christian inscriptions, but may possibly denote only the members of the city Gerousia. The inscription of Hierapolis mentioning the *Proëdria* still seems to me Jewish-Christian; but I was wrong in making the Porphyrabaphoi a Christian guild. They were a Jewish society, and hence Christianity had a strong footing among them.

"the prominent ones." Luke never uses these words, but only *Presbyteroi*,[1] for he employed the popular language of Asia Minor and the Ægean coasts, and elsewhere his tendency to a less polished tone in matters of name and title than Paul has been pointed out.[2]

Thus we find everywhere in the Pauline Churches officials of the same general type, but not always called by the same title. They were chosen and paid by the Church.

It is therefore highly probable that there were in Corinth such officials, called afterwards, apparently, *Hegoumenoi*.[3] Paul himself mentions them only under the very general and abstract title "governings," probably because the title was not as yet fixed, and usage varied so widely.

Yet there is nowhere even the faintest sign in Paul's reply that the Corinthians had referred to them in their letter. This is all the more remarkable inasmuch as a different class of persons were prominently mentioned in that letter, viz., the volunteer speakers in the assembly, the prophets and speakers with tongues, who rose as the Spirit prompted them.

In his reconstruction Prof. Findlay brings out well that the Corinthians laid much stress on the services and the work of those volunteers in their Church, and that they congratulated themselves much on the forwardness and zeal shown by so many of their members in guiding and instructing the congregation, so that the "difficulty is to

[1] In *Acts* xv. 22 *Hegoumenoi* occurs, but it is evidently merely quoted.

[2] *St. Paul the Trav.*, p. 267 f.

[3] Clement, *Ep. ad Cor.* 1 uses the term about the Corinthian officers (while he mentions *Presbyteroi* only as elderly and reverend men), and the name was also used at Jerusalem, *Acts* xv. 22. The term used in the Roman Church was *Proëgoumenoi* (Clement 21, and Hermas, *Vis.* 2, 2; 3, 9: for *Hegoumenoi* in Clement 37 refers to imperial government officials). It is therefore quite marvellous that the occurrence of Hegoumenoi in *Hebrews* should be appealed to by Harnack and others as a proof that that Epistle was addressed, not to Jerusalem, but to Rome. So far as it proves anything, it proves the very opposite.

find a hearing for all whom the Spirit prompts (xiv. 26 ff.)" It is all very naïve, very interesting, so characteristic of a young community, and, above all, of a community consisting mainly of Greeks, who are never eager to obey the constituted authority, but always forward to govern themselves and to direct their neighbours.

But, certainly, the silence of Paul about the influence of those officials in Corinth is noteworthy. He nowhere bids the Corinthians obey them; yet it is plain that one of the most serious faults which Paul saw among the Corinthians was insubordination, and that there was hardly any advice which they stood more in need of than "obey them that are in authority among you." Must we not infer that the existing officials in Corinth had been unsuccessful, that they had given way to the same faults as the congregation generally, that they were in some degree responsible for fomenting the spirit of argument and criticism and partisanship, which was such a dangerous factor in Corinthian life, that it was they who had condoned the conduct of the worst offender? It was hardly possible simply to advise the Corinthians to obey their *Hegoumenoi*. But a guarded counsel is given in the concluding paragraph, when Paul gathers up in brief the most urgent teaching of the Epistle, and beseeches the Corinthians to "be in subjection unto such" as Stephanas and his household, who "have set themselves to minister to the saints"; and further, to be in subjection "to every one that helpeth in the work and laboureth." Those who do the work should have the obedience of the congregation: which, doubtless, implies that there are some who have failed to do the work.

The question which has sometimes been put, if *Presbyteroi* were purely administrative officials, or if they took part in teaching and preaching, would have seemed meaningless and absurd to the Christians of that time. The idea that there could be persons eminent in the congregation who

did not teach was inconceivable then. Stephen and Philip were among the seven appointed "to serve tables"; but their conspicuous position gave them only greater advantage to "help in the work and labour."

W. M. Ramsay.

THE PERIL AND THE COMFORT OF EXPOSURE.

(Mark 4^{22}=Luke 8^{17}; Matthew 10^{26}; Luke 12^{2}.)

The difference between the two forms of this sententious aphorism points to a difference in the channels by which it has reached the synoptic narratives. One form is obviously briefer, even abrupt in its pregnant statement:

οὐ γὰρ ἐστί κρυπτὸν
ἐὰν μὴ ἵνα φανερωθῇ·
οὐδὲ ἐγένετο ἀπόκρυφον
ἀλλ' ἵνα ἔλθῃ εἰς φανερόν (Mark 4^{22}).

Here we have probably the closest reproduction of the original Logion as it existed in the Petrine memoirs which underlie Mark's gospel and, in that or another shape, are one source for the first three gospels. Luke also has preserved the saying in this, its original connection,[1] as one of a series of counsels which he represents as having been addressed to the disciples by Jesus after the parable of the sower and the seeds. But he has omitted the ἵνα of purpose, introduced his favourite periphrasis with γίνομαι, and slightly expanded, in his usual manner, the closing words of the primitive sentence:

οὐ γάρ ἐστι κρυπτόν
ὃ οὐ φανερὸν γενήσεται·
οὐδὲ ἀπόκρυφον
ὃ οὐ μὴ γνωσθῇ καὶ εἰς φανερὸν ἔλθῃ.
(Luke 8^{17}).

The same idea has been embodied in a slightly different

[1] Luke omits Mark 4^{23}, and generally preserves a smoother argument. Cf. J. Weiss, in *Studien und Kritiken* (1891), pp. 310 f.

form, which is in all likelihood due to the Logia. In Matthew and Luke this form is practically identical from the linguistic point of view: the main difference lies in the setting assigned to it in the course of the narrative.

Matt. 10 [26].	Luke 12 [2].
οὐδὲν γάρ ἐστι κεκαλυμμένον	*οὐδὲν δὲ συγκεκαλυμμένον ἐστὶν*
ὃ οὐκ ἀποκαλυφθήσεται·	*ὃ οὐκ ἀποκαλυφθήσεται·*
καὶ κρυπτόν	*καὶ κρυπτόν*
ὃ οὐ γνωσθήσεται.	*ὃ οὐ γνωσθήσεται.*

These minor variations do not affect the common thought of all the four passages. The point which Jesus is pressing in these instructions to his adherents is the law of Exposure. His principle is that concealment in religion is provisional, not final; that any sort of reserve, however necessary it may be, must prove temporary; that self-expression is the ultimate phase of life. There is no hope, and there need be no fear, that things will be entirely hushed away and covered up. People either dread this law of utterance in the life they see lived around them and within themselves, or else they despair of it ever prevailing. According to their mood, exposure seems a doom or a reward. But in either aspect, according to this synoptic Logion, it is sure. Character comes to show itself. Truth is meant for exhibition, as light for illumination. "The universe," as Emerson once put it, "protects itself by pitiless publicity . . . the whole economy of nature is bent on expression." In fact, it is an ethical conviction which has always been thought worthy of repeated emphasis, that the tendency, conscious or unconscious, voluntary or involuntary, of men and things is for them to come to the surface. Motives may be misunderstood or concealed for a time, and aims dissembled or obscure; but exposure prevails in the long run, whether exposure is a matter for congratulation or for dread. In the older phrase of Menander, *ἄγει πρὸς φῶς τὴν ἀλήθειαν χρονος*.

The law of self-disclosure, then, applied as a threat or as an encouragement, seems to have been rather a favourite topic in the teaching of Jesus. On three separate occasions he is reported to have used it, once in private to his disciples (Mark 4^{22} = Luke 8^{17}), once at a later period in his charge and commission to the twelve (Matt. 10^{26}), and, finally, in a speech to his disciples before a vast crowd (Luke 12^{2}). In each case the saying has a special *nuance*. It is an apt word for the situation, semi-proverbial and intelligible; and there is no reason *à priori* why Jesus should not have repeated a sentence like this more than once, presenting the idea in one aspect after another. He must have frequently had occasion, as he travelled and taught, to reiterate such a maxim in various localities and under different circumstances. It was not a case of once said, said for ever. The more characteristic and luminous, indeed, the idea, the greater would be the likelihood of its recurrence. It would be employed for different purposes, and modified more or less, as it came to be adapted to varied audiences. Such a procedure [1] would be entirely natural, and in keeping with the character of Jesus' ministry and situation; nor is there any reason to dispute its reality. But even when this is granted, the question remains, How far do the reduplicated sayings in the gospels reflect this procedure? In the present instance, at any rate, they seem to give only a partial reflection. Certainly in the third occurrence (Luke 12^{2}), and probably in the second (Matt. 10^{26}), one can feel the editorial faculty of the evangelists, who freely transpose and rearrange their materials, placing old sayings in new connections and exhibiting a given idea or narrative of Jesus in fresh applications. The general comparative criticism of the synoptic tradition vindicates literary manipulation as quite a legitimate hypothesis in the attempt to

[1] Mr. T. G. Selby has some sensible remarks on this point in *The Ministry of the Lord Jesus* (1896), pp. 14–17.

account for the second and third instances of this saying. The setting and circumstances of Mark 4 [22] (= Luke 8 [17]) are intrinsically probable. They bear the stamp of an original situation. Time, place, and purpose are all homogeneous. The later (Matt. 10 [26], Luke 12 [2]) occurrences, however, do not afford anything like the same measure of historical certainty. Yet even they possess admirable appropriateness, when viewed from the standpoint of the conception which the authors held of Jesus and his life. Each has a definite place and right of its own, and all three together can be woven into a consistent description of the mind and methods of Jesus, as these were present to the later consciousness of the apostolic age.

(*a*) In its earliest occurrence, chronologically, the saying is a pendant to the word upon the lamp and the lamp-stand: "Is the lamp brought" (*μήτι*, expecting a negative answer) "to be put under the bushel, or under the bed, and not to be put upon the stand? For"—Jesus proceeds, passing from illustration to principle—

> There is nothing hid,
> Except to be manifested;
> Nor was anything made secret,
> But that it should come to light.
>
> (Mark 4 [21 22]).

Luke (8 [16 17]) preserves the same order of the sayings, though in his version they become slightly flattened and expanded. In both gospels the inner connection of the words may be either "the lamp is meant to take its proper and conspicuous place: so faith has to avow itself in order to discharge its real functions"; or, "the lamp is intended to illuminate everything within the range of its light: similarly faith serves to expose and elucidate matters hitherto concealed." Luke's version points to the former interpretation, if the phrase *ἵνα οἱ εἰσπορευόμενοι βλέπωσιν τὸ φῶς* is to be pressed. But in either case the sense remains pretty

much the same. Christ's point is the divine necessity of frankness. His appeal and encouragement make for openness. In this early address during the Galilean ministry Jesus was evidently trying to stir among his companions and adherents (Mark 4^{10}, *οἱ περὶ αὐτὸν σὺν τοῖς δώδεκα*: Luke has merely an audience of *μαθηταὶ αὐτοῦ*, 8^{9}) the spirit and habit of confession. His need was for men who should take their place modestly but firmly, not afraid to show what they were and where they stood in relation to God and the kingdom. Manifestation of this kind, Christ urged, is a rôle of faith. For religion comes under the common government of life; there, as in the ordinary world, openness is a condition of effectiveness. To diffuse itself, to make its influence felt, to expand from its own life, to assume a public, practical attitude—all this constitutes from the outset a natural law for the Christian spirit. Truth, like light, is given for ends beyond itself. Through experience, and through a tangible, legible experience, faith is to be spread in widest commonalty; so that it is not merely permissible, but healthy, to desire utterance for one's convictions, or some channel of expression for one's ideas. "It is necessary to me," George Eliot once wrote to Mr. Sibree, "not simply to *be*, but to *utter*, and I require utterance of my friends."

The original situation made the counsel specially apposite. Christ's hearers at the moment formed an inner circle.[1] They stood by themselves apart from the larger crowd. But, as the saying implies, it was not to be imagined that

[1] *i.e.* if the whole passage 4^{10} f. hangs together. Certainly *vv.* 21–22 cohere (cf. Luke 8^{16-17}, where the same sayings are grouped), and the connection of the saying with the preceding parable and its explanation is probably intended to be significant. (i.) The explanation given to them is not meant entirely for themselves: it must be passed on to others. (ii.) The inner working of God in life is hidden, but man's duty is to express it in outer results of helpfulness: seed must come to grain, light to illumination. (iii.) Christ's method of making his parable widely intelligible by means of an explanation is an object-lesson: so ought his disciples to make their faith and knowledge clear to all.

such private and privileged intercourse with himself formed the be-all and end-all of life. The exclusiveness, secrecy, and enigmatic character which apparently were bound up in his present method of teaching, no less than the limited extent of his activities during the provincial and obscure Galilean mission (preaching "great verse unto a little clan"), were necessary indeed, but only for a time. This element of privacy merely constituted one stage in his method; its end was a wide and open disclosure. The Law of Exposure forbade any parochial and indolent interpretation of the Christian spirit, or any attempt to rest content with it as the luxury of a coterie.

It also encouraged men who were practically beginners, tempted to distrust their new powers, requiring to be made conscious of their capacities and to be warned against the neglect of them. Exposure in the outside world, as Christ indicated, answers to the frank assumption of one's place and responsibilities in the moral sphere. Why shrink from coming forward? It is absolutely natural, a thing to be expected, and you can rely upon its practicability. Such a conviction is the best help in rallying from the false modesty, the hesitancy of inexperience and the subtler forms of cowardice which beset the threshold of all enterprise. Christ's word is wise and apt: manifestation, self-expression, is reasonable and inevitable. Grasp that natural law, and you understand how modesty and courage can be leagued to win success.

The saying is strongly put.[1] The ἵνα of purpose and the

[1] The brevity of the genuine text corresponds to the abruptness and difficulty which occasionally characterize the sayings in Mark as compared with their form in the later gospels. A list of similarly obscure or harsh expressions is given in Hawkins' *Horæ Synopticæ*, pp. 106 f. From the standpoint of grammar, the context alone can decide whether the future tense is aoristic or progressive; in this case even the data afforded by the context fail to establish either interpretation as unquestionably right. But the tense might conceivably be regarded as an instance of the gnomic future, denoting a matter that will take place from time to time (Burton: *Moods and Tenses*, p. 36).

aphoristic parallelism, possibly with a double reference to sight (*ἀποκαλυφθήσεται*) and hearing (*ἀπόκρυφον*), contribute to the emphasis; as Calvin pointed out, the words even have some appearance of being a proverb. *Ἀπόκρυφον* ("secret") is the technical term for esoteric teaching among the Essenes and the later Gnostics. Here, however, it might be taken quite as probably in its companion and informal sense of "precious," after the metaphor of hidden treasure (Isa. 45^{3} LXX. = Matt. 13^{44}) which is concealed on account of its value. At any rate, the bearing of the Logion upon practical Christianity remains unaffected; the outcome of a religious faith is to be neither concealed nor ambiguous in the Christian sphere. The main point nowadays, as Rothe wittily remarked, is to be pious in the open air; and that applies to the avowal as well as to the naturalness of religion, to those who are tempted to be backward as well as to those whose danger is artificiality.

(*b*) Some months later, probably during a journey through the villages in the district of Nazareth, the saying is repeated (according to Matthew's version),[1] followed by the word upon "the housetop."

> For there is nothing covered,
> That shall not be revealed;
> And hid,
> That shall not be known.
> What I tell you in the darkness,
> Speak in the light:
> And what you hear in the ear,
> Proclaim upon the housetops.

($10^{26\text{-}27}$, *κηρύξατε*; a word of authority and frank avowal.)

The situation is reflected in the preceding and the following words, "Fear them (the unnamed opponents of *v.* 25) not therefore . . . and be not afraid of them," etc. In directing the twelve for their mission, Jesus met by anticipation what would in all likelihood prove their chief

[1] Wendt, *Lehre Jesu*, i. pp. 113 f.

cause of hesitation, viz., the dread of outside opposition. Hard resistance would be encountered, probably persecution. But, he is represented to have argued, it is against nature to suppose that these will avail to finally stifle the new Spirit of God, or to crush into silence his messengers. Gradually, by the sheer power of self-disclosure, the gospel would unfold itself in and through their labours. They need not have the slightest fear or scruple about engaging in the active proclamation of the truth, for the private teaching of Christ was meant to secure, as its issue and final expression, public and free avowal ("on the housetop").

The saying in this form is very naturally interpreted as a programme of the evangelists' experience within the apostolic church. It is tempting to regard the whole passage with most critics as in the main a reflection of the oldest Palestinian mission, when the good news of Jesus was carried from house to house with vigour and independence, and the enterprise spread gradually into prominence (*e.g.* Acts 8 $^{1-4}$ f.). Many details in the commission suit this period, as do several of the directions in their extant form.[1] In this event the saying is a direction adopted by the evangelist from the contemporary activities of the apostolic age. If, on the other hand, the maxim is considered as a fit counsel for the disciples within the actual lifetime of

[1] This is rightly urged by Weizsäcker (*Apostolic Age*, E. Tr., i. pp. 28 f., ii. pp. 48 f.), who traces in Matt. 10, and even in Mark 6 and Luke 9, instructions which could only have been understood by the disciples in reference to their independent vocation, as that existed for them subsequently to the death of Jesus. But it is impossible to detect any such change as he imagines in the conception of this Logion upon exposure, under the influence of success and publicity. The earliest application of the Logion, so far as the records show, does not mean that the disciples were to work on contentedly in the darkness, confident that their message would become conspicuous despite the limitations and narrowness of their career. The original point of the saying is preserved throughout all its extant uses in the tradition, viz., that secrecy was always to be regarded as a provisional expedient, and that the disciples were deliberately to work out of it, sure that in doing so they had the Law of Exposure on their side.

Jesus,[1] its place might be justified by a sense of his originality and searching insight, as well as by the admirably fit setting of the word in question. The best comment, at any rate, upon the words is the apostolic confession: *οὐ δύναμεθα ἡμεῖς ἃ εἴδαμεν καὶ ἠκούσαμεν μὴ λαλεῖν* (Acts 4^{20}). And behind this courage lies the sense of urgency and inevitableness in the proclamation. "It is a great encouragement," says Matthew Henry, "to those who are doing Christ's work, that it is a work which shall certainly be done . . . Whatever hazards you run, go on with your work, publishing and proclaiming the everlasting gospel to all the world; that is your business, mind that." In stating the Christian facts there is no need for men to employ reserve or ambiguity in order to advance the interests of their mission. To be open is their destiny: to be unflinching, their true safety. If there is historical evidence to show that the early disciples undertook independent missions during the lifetime of their Master upon so extended and elaborate a scale as is implied in Matthew 10, then the background of a saying like this upon the duty and success of frank confession is furnished without further ado.

With Chrysostom, one might also read into the words here the companion and darker side of the law, exposure being threatened as well as promised. In this case the

[1] "Darkness," then, is simply a strong expression for the comparative privacy and limited range of Christ's teaching (*ἐπειδὴ μόνοις αὐτοῖς διελέγετο καὶ ἐν μικρᾷ γωνίᾳ τῆς Παλαιστίνης, διὰ τοῦτο εἶπεν, "ἐν τῇ σκοτίᾳ"*: Chrysostom). A. Réville (*Jésus de Nazareth*, ii. pp. 128–130) strangely takes the similar passage in Matt. 5^{13-16} as addressed by Jesus to the Jewish people represented by the surrounding crowd, a call issued by him to his fellow-countrymen to be worthy of their religious superiority and faithful to their high vocation in the world. He thinks the original followers of Jesus lacked any such notoriety. But surely the adherents of Jesus, even during his earthly career, possessed enough distinctiveness through their belief in him as the agent of the Divine kingdom and through their own position as heralds of that kingdom. Such a rôle must have marked them off, if it was prosecuted with any seriousness; and the primitive synoptic tradition shows that words like these were really applicable to the disciples. (Holtzmann: *Neutest. Theologie*, I. p. 209 f.)

sense of the passage would be: "Fear not your opponents; they have their day indeed, but evil will be shown up before long. Hypocrisy is futile." This would be quite in the manner, *e.g.*, of Paul, who refers the exposure of evil to the actual coming and judgment of the Lord (1 Cor. 4 [5]), and Bengel finds this application even in the Mark-passage with its twofold structure. *Prior sententia potest de malo, altera de bono accipi. Id axioma valet de rebus naturæ; de sensibus et actionibus hominum malis et bonis.* But this interpretation introduces too subtle an idea, certainly in Mark 4 [16] f., and probably here; although it must be admitted that the thought of *v.* 26 connects itself with the preceding no less than with the following verse. This under side of exposure, however, is definitely preserved in

(*c*) the narrative of a much later experience during the Peræa circuit (Luke 12 [1-3]). Here the saying is used at once to reassure and to warn the disciples. As the crowds thronged round him, Jesus "began to tell his disciples first of all," [1] "Beware of the leaven of the Pharisees [leaven, a symbol for insidiousness and masked activity], which is hypocrisy.

> "Nothing is covered up, that shall not be revealed:
> And hid, that shall not be known."

Then follows, as in Matthew 10, the saying upon the "housetop" (slightly altered); this time, however, put not as a direct imperative, but as the statement of a law. The principle of exposure, by means of which hypocrisy is to be

[1] Primarily, the speech taking a wider range at *v.* 15 (13). Such, at any rate, is the idea upon which the author of the third gospel has compiled the narrative. But 1*b*–12 probably represent an insertion, taken from the Logia and introduced in the story of the popular movement (1*a*, 13–21) round Jesus (so J. Weiss in Meyer *ad loc.*). It is characteristic of Luke that in editing the sayings of Jesus which reached him in the Logia, he usually tried to furnish them with historical introductions, or to set them in a more living context than they secure in Matthew. Instances in Wernle's *Synoptische Frage*, pp. 82–83. 8 [17] and 12 [2] form one of about a dozen doublets in the third gospel: there are twice the number in Matthew.

detected, is the very principle by which the gospel is openly declared.

It is needless to regard this rigorously, with Keim, as "a Pauline and anti-Jewish application" of the Logion. The use of it by Jesus at the close of the Galilean mission is not impossible; for, by this time, the conflict between the Pharisees and himself had passed into quite an acute and well-defined form. Antagonism, in fact, is the background against which the whole passage becomes intelligible, and the words of the Logion are a warning against the insidious influence of the Jewish authorities, by which the disciples might naturally be affected. So read, the terms of *v.* 3 are an indirect threat. Anything in the nature of concealment is doomed, Jesus argues. It is unnatural; its term of power is very limited. Keep clear of ὑπόκρισις: for as time goes on it will become more difficult than ever to avert exposure. *V.* 2 thus states the principle upon which the previous warning depends for its reasonableness. Even if the δὲ be genuine (and it is omitted by א לי 81), it is not adversative but metabatic. It merely connects the following statement with the preceding imperative, and thus serves to deepen the emphasis.

At the same time the words are undoubtedly thrown into sharper relief when they are regarded, as the editor possibly felt they would be regarded by some of his readers, against the background of the apostolic age[1] with its conflicts and perils—especially in view of an incident like the famous dispute at Antioch, where the Jewish Christians, with Peter and even Barnabas, had been carried away by ὑπόκρισις (Gal. 2^{13}). The moral danger of ὑπόκρισις is that convictions may be suppressed, or a course of action altered out of deference to some powerful interest—in this case the Pharisaic prejudices of the nationalist party in the church. Conceal-

[1] The change of "What I said to you" (Matt.) into "What you have said" (Luke) inplies a further stage of activity upon the part of the disciples among Jewish circles.

ment of some kind or another is the result. People are deterred from being straightforward and open by the regard they are led to pay to the authority and influence of others. Their better judgment is warped, their own convictions are rendered ineffective. Hence Jesus is represented in the third gospel as insisting, not merely on the futility of such dissimulation, but on the corresponding duty and law of bold confession. It is practically immaterial whether *ἀνθ' ὧν* be rendered "wherefore" (so Holtzmann and Blass), or, as is more probable, "because" (cf. 1 [20], 19 [44], Acts 12 [23]). The point of the passage is that while activity in the dark, or in the inner chambers of the house, is necessary, it is merely a preliminary stage. It leads to open and unchecked proclamation. Persecution at the hands of the Jews may drive Christian preaching into house-to-house propaganda for a while, or into methods of private intercourse (see Renan's *Vie de Jésus*, chap. xviii.). But these are not final: a law of exposure is at work on your behalf, therefore do not lose heart or hope. You may be tempted to dissemble or conceal your convictions, to use compromise or to stoop to false opportunism, under stress of circumstances and the fear of man; but that device, again, merely avails for a time. The Law of Exposure is working against it. *Your* message is to be widely and bravely uttered; so to utter it is your duty, so to be uttered is its nature. Such is the double course of Jesus' thought. "Never suppose about anything," his great contemporary Hillel is reported to have said, "that it will not readily be heard; in the end it must be heard."[1]

[1] Compare this passage from a modern mystic. "Already, it would seem, the soul is enwrapped in fewer veils. Is it quite clear to you (this is a strange and disquieting truth), is it quite clear to you that if you are not good, your mere presence will probably proclaim that fact to-day a hundred times more clearly than would have been the case two or three centuries ago? Look like a saint, a martyr, a hero; but the eye of a child that meets you will not greet you with the same glance, if you bear an evil thought within your heart, an injustice or a brother's tears. A hundred years ago its soul might perhaps have passed by yours unobservant." (From M. Maeterlinck's *Le Trésor des Humbles*, pp. 42–43: "Le réveil de l'âme."

The idea of a general disclosure of things good and evil appears to have formed a characteristic note of Messianic expectation, both Jewish and Christian.[1] But the method of Jesus in employing this saying upon the peril and comfort of exposure stands by itself. For one thing, it is remarkable that he does not here associate the unveiling with his own person or work. At a later stage in the Christian teaching the fuller idea does occur, viz., that the real nature of men is detected by the critical and searching influence of his personality; but it is a mark of genuineness in this synoptic Logion that it does not present the more developed conception. Here Jesus states a common law, and uses what is a general principle of existence. He is also silent upon the collateral expectations of the Messiah and his mission, a silence which may be fairly taken as a tacit repudiation of the fantastic and crude hopes that gathered round the idea among many of his contemporaries. His thought upon this subject is natural and simple. The sphere of the unveiling is the character of man (cf. John 4^{25} with 4^{29} and Luke 2^{35}), and his object in mentioning it is to advance the interests of truth and courage, not to gratify an idle curiosity. It is not quite clear how far Jesus held the belief that this exposure would occur once

[1] For the Jewish cf. 4 Esdras 14^{35}, 1 Co. 3^{13} f., Luke 2^{35} ("that thoughts out of many hearts may be revealed," ἀποκαλυφθῶσιν); for the Samaritan, John 4^{25} ("I know that when Messiah cometh, he will declare all things to us"). According to the genuine Samaritan doctrine, as Mr. Cowley has pointed out (Expositor, fifth series, vol. i. pp. 161 f.), when the Taheb does come, there shall be nothing hid any longer, above or below, *i.e.*, "primarily things connected with worship and the true religion."

The under side of exposure forms the dominating idea in Hawthorne's *Scarlet Letter*, where it is analyzed and elaborated with a gloomy care. But it is interesting to notice how he makes the idea cover more than the ordinary passage of guilty secrets into the daylight, or the inability of hypocrisy and crime to elude the probing search of investigation. In chap. x. he puts an argument into the mouth of Mr. Dimmesdale to the effect that the final disclosure of human thoughts and deeds is not intended as retribution. It is an intellectual necessity. The dark problem of life cannot be understood apart from an intimate knowledge of men's hearts, and therefore this knowledge will be yielded up to all intelligent beings who will stand waiting to be satisfied on that day by a solution of life's strange mystery.

and for all at the final judgment. Historical evidence upon this point is rather conflicting and ambiguous. But certainly the impression left upon the mind by the Exposure sayings, applied either to the secrets of an individual life, or to the processes by which truth is to be manifested and propagated, is that the disclosure was to be a process, not a shock; the gradual result of action and experience rather than a paroxysm of unmasking. Even in the Matthæan form (10^{26} f.), where *v.* 28 has an apocalyptic ring, the saying on "the housetop" implies not so much a crisis as a career. And to interpret the Logion in this light is neither to read back a fine modern idea into the gospel, nor to attribute proleptically to Jesus a phase of thought which was entirely alien to his experience and outlook.

JAMES MOFFATT.

TWO IMPORTANT GLOSSES IN THE CODEX BEZÆ.

I HAVE recently been reviewing with some care the text of the Codex Bezæ and its allies (which pass comprehensively under the name of the Western Text of the New Testament), as well as a part of the multitudinous books and pamphlets which have essayed to explain the peculiarities of that text with a view either to justify or to condemn it. Amongst these peculiar variations from received or authorized forms, it is well known that the most conspicuous are to be found in the text of the Acts of the Apostles; so that the critic who meddles with the difficult problem of New Testament origins is sure to find himself, sooner or later, in the Slough of Despond which these readings furnish, where there is no sure foothold for the investigator, and which, like the original swamp in the *Pilgrim's Progress*, does not appear to have been made much better by the multitude of attempts that have been made to construct a causeway over it. Or, to use a more classical figure, the

Western text is a Serbonian bog, well suited to swallow up armies of patient scholars and erudite linguists.

After which description it might seem, perhaps, presumptuous on my part, in view of the fact that I am not reckoned to have been uniformly successful in my attempts at forcing a passage through the swamp, to begin again to elucidate the matters that are in dispute. But perhaps I may claim some forbearance if I state at once that the object of this note is merely to draw attention to a couple of microscopic matters, and that the conclusions which it furnishes are not such as tend to establish any previously published theories of my own.

Amongst the additional matter in the Western text of the Acts (which we call for simplicity the Bezan glosses, not because they are proved to be glosses, nor as being necessarily limited in their attestation to the Codex Bezæ) there are two expansions upon which I think a fresh ray of light can be cast, so as to make them, first, intelligible, and, second, appropriate to the situation in which they are found to occur. Of these two glosses, the first, as far as I know, has never yet been explained at all, although Dr. Blass came very near to it in a footnote in the larger edition of the Acts; the second has provoked explanations which have not, so far, commanded critical assent.

The two glosses in question are found respectively in Acts 4^{24} and Acts 5^{39}. We will take them in order.

In Acts 4^{24} the text of Codex Bezæ is:

Οἱ δὲ ἀκούσαντες [καὶ ἐπιγνόντες τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐνέργειαν] ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἦραν φωνὴν πρὸς τὸν θεὸν καὶ εἶπαν, Δέσποτα . . .

where the bracketed words constitute the gloss. Blass adds the words to his text of the Acts, and has the following justificatory note:

ἐνέργεια (Aristot.; 3 Macc. 4^{21}) de deo (vel diabolo) saepius ap. Paulum Phil. 3^{21} al. Et miraculum fecerat Deus et apostolos incolumes servaverat; hinc etiam de reliquis confidunt.

That is, Blass justifies the language by classical and Hel-

lenistic parallels, and the expression itself as being appropriate to the miraculous deliverance which had occurred. We are to understand the passage in the following sense :

When they heard what had taken place, and had recognised the interposition of Divine providence, they lifted up their voices with one accord, and said, etc.

If Blass had actually quoted the text of the Maccabees to which he refers, he would have made a much stronger case for his explanation and justification of the added words. The third book of the Maccabees is a story of the miraculous escapes of the Alexandrian Jews from a series of massacres which had been planned against them by King Ptolemy Philopator. In 3 Maccabees 4^{21} we are told that the officials who were to make a list of the proscribed persons, proposed as victims of the massacre, broke down in their work because there was not a sufficient supply of paper and pens in the Alexandrian bazaars to meet the needs of the enumerators, concerning which the historian or novelist remarks :

Τοῦτο δὲ ἦν ἐνέργεια τῆς τοῦ βοηθοῦντος τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις ἐξ οὐρανοῦ προνοίας ἀνικήτου.

It was an interposition of Heaven, of the unconquerable providence of Him that watched over the Jews. This is the passage which Blass adduced, and it is singularly apposite, especially in view of the fact that the document from which it is taken is contemporary, or almost so, with the time of production of the Acts of the Apostles.[1]

On reading further in the romance of the Maccabeist we find another remarkable deliverance in 3 Maccabees 5^{12}, where Ptolemy, who has arranged the time of the massacre, oversleeps himself, and the officials, being unwilling to begin without him, allow the Jews to escape. Upon which the writer remarks that the sleep was a Divine interposition :

ἡδίστῳ καὶ βάθει [ὕπνῳ] κατεσχέθη τῇ ἐνεργείᾳ τοῦ δεσπότου.

[1] Assuming 3 Maccabees to have been written about A.D. 40.

Again, in 3 Maccabees 5^{28}, when the massacre has been again planned, and apparently the Jews are finally abandoned to their fate, Ptolemy suddenly loses his memory and forgets the orders that he has given, so that the commands are unconfirmed, or withdrawn. Again the Jews escape, and the writer remarks:

τοῦτο δὲ ἦν ἐνέργεια τοῦ πάντα δεσποτεύοντος θεοῦ.

Here, then, are three cases of a story-teller's explanation of miraculous escapes, which are exactly similar to what we find in the Acts of the Apostles, and which, as we shall see, will throw a light upon the sequence of the narration in the Western text.

But before passing from the enumeration of these singular and striking parallels in 3 Maccabees, it should be noticed that the third book of the Maccabees is in general, and in this particular turn of speech, under the influence of the second book of Maccabees.

In 2 Maccabees 3^{29} we have the account of the punishment which fell on Heliodorus when he tried to raid the treasury in the Temple at Jerusalem:

> Heliodorus fell suddenly to the ground, and was compassed with great darkness; but they that were with him took him up, and put him into a litter. Thus him, that lately came with a great train and with all his guard into the said treasury, they carried out, being unable to help himself with his weapons, and manifestly *they acknowledged the power of God: and he, through the divine activity* (διὰ τὴν θείαν ἐνέργειαν), was cast down, and lay speechless without all hope of life.

Here again the language is singularly apt to elucidate the supposed Western gloss, for the parallels are not mere dictionary or concordance parallels. They are parallels in situation and in idea.

Returning now to the cases in the third book of Maccabees, it will be seen that in two of them the direct reference is made to God as δεσπότης. How apposite this is to the prayer of the Church which follows, which opens with the word δέσποτα! Blass, who does not seem to have

noticed this sequence of thought, even though he edits the gloss as a part of his text, but who had a keen sense that there must be some special fitness in the use of the peculiar word, thought it was parallel to the *τοῖς δούλοις σου* which follows, his note being :

δέσποτα Lc. 2[29] ubi respondet *τὸν δοῦλόν σου*, ut hic 29 *τοῖς δούλοις σου* (cf. 1 Tim. 6[1] al.).

It will, however, be clear from the references we have given that the real fitness of the word is to be sought in the *ἐνέργεια* which precedes.

Chrysostom, who, as I have shown in my *Four Lectures on the Western Text*, had an acquaintance with the Bezan glosses, as well as, in all probability, with a commentary upon a text that contained them, has the right feeling of the meaning of *δεσπότης*. He draws a parallel between the prayer of the Church in the fourth chapter and the prayer at the election of Matthias in the first chapter of the Acts. In the one case they wanted to know which of the candidates was worthy of the apostolate, so they prayed, "Thou, Lord, that knowest the hearts," etc.; in the other case, since their adversaries had to be reined in, they discourse of lordship, and begin with "Thou, Ruler," etc. (*ἐνταῦθα δὲ, ἐπειδὴ ἐπιστομισθῆναι τοὺς ἐναντίους ἔχρην, περὶ δεσποτείας διαλέγονται. δίο καὶ οὕτως ἤρξαντο, Δέσποτα*). According to Chrysostom, then, it is the restraining of their adversaries, and not their own subjection to God, that provokes the thought of His Lordship.

May we not then go so far as to say that the gloss (as it is called) is singularly apposite to the text in which it is found, and that, if it is not a part of the true text, it is as good an interpretation as the very best commentary ever made upon it, an admission which is perilously near to the confession that it is not a gloss at all.

And, further, let it be observed that we have not merely justified the thought of the supposed commentator; we have justified his language also. Retranslations out of

Latin or Syriac are not to be thought of in the explanation of such a genuinely Greek expression. The gloss must have arisen in Greek; the chances are infinitesimal that its peculiar turns of speech would have survived a pilgrimage through an adjacent language.

We shall, therefore, conclude provisionally that the supposed gloss is either a part of the primitive Greek text of the Acts or an extremely early Greek expansion, with a strong balance of probability in favour of the former. A Montanist explanation, as suggested in my *Study of Codex Bezæ*, is no longer to be thought of.

The next gloss to which I desire to draw attention is Acts 5 [39], where the text of the Codex Bezæ is:

εἰ δὲ ἐκ θεοῦ ἐστιν, [οὐ δυνήσεσθε καλῦσαι (l. καταλῦσαι) αὐτούς, οὔτε ὑμεῖς οὔτε βασιλεῖς οὔτε τύραννοι, ἀπέχεσθε οὖν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τούτων,] μήποτε θεόμαχοι εὑρεθῆτε.

Here again Blass justifies the peculiar Greek by a reference to Wisdom 12 [14] (*βασιλεὺς ἢ τύραννος*), the justification being necessary because *τύραννος* is not a New Testament word, and therefore makes the gloss suspect in which it occurs. But he does not notice that the passage which is quoted from Wisdom is dealing with the same problem as in the Acts, viz., the question *whether it is safe to oppose God*. Hence it is certain that the added words in Acts 5 [39] are either the very words of Wisdom 12 [14] or an adaptation of them. The passage is as follows:

οὔτε γὰρ θεός ἐστιν πλὴν σοῦ . . . οὔτε βασιλεὺς ἢ τύραννος ἀντοφθαλμῆσαι δυνήσεταί σοι περὶ ὧν ἐκολάσας.

It will, I think, be admitted that the supposed gloss, while not absolutely necessary [1] to the argument "lest haply ye be found fighting against God," is an excellent corroboration of the argument, and agrees admirably with the sequence of thought. The situation is, then, very much like that in the passage which we previously discussed: the added words may be a commentary—they are

[1] For we have the previous statement, "If this thing be of God," etc.

almost too apt to be a commentary. We must not resort to the explanation that the words were due to the fervour of some time of persecution, when kings and tyrants were provoking criticism; there is no more need to treat the text of the Acts this way than the text of Wisdom. No Montanist is needed, nor is any retranslator to be called for. In the latter case, indeed, we are secured by the peculiar word τύραννος, which justifies the Greek of the gloss, and would almost certainly have been lost if the passage had gone through translation and retranslation. It is a *bonâ fide* Greek expansion, and may be a part of the original text.

In this particular case it should be observed that Codex Bezæ does not stand alone. It is supported by the Fleury palimpsest, and by the Heraclean Syriac; and its text, in a modified form ("neither ye nor your rulers"), has come down in the Codex Laudianus, the Gigas, and elsewhere. The excellence of the text of Codex Bezæ is seen by the comparison with the Laudianus, from which the identification with the language of Wisdom has quite disappeared. Still more conspicuous is the excellence of the Fleury text, which, although in Latin, by a microscopic variation of *ac* for the third οὔτε, enables us to restore to the Codex Bezæ the form

οὔτε ὑμεῖς οὔτε βασιλεῖς ἢ τύραννοι

in still closer agreement with Wisdom 12[14] (βασιλεὺς ἢ τύραννος).

We have now reviewed these two glosses and discussed their origin. It must be admitted that they strongly support Blass's theory of the genuineness of the Western accretions. At all events he might have made his case much stronger if he had discussed more at length the parallels which, working on independent lines, we have both of us discovered. If I do not express myself more positively, Dr. Blass will understand that it is because I am still engaged upon the great problem.

J. Rendel Harris.

OUR LORD'S VISION OF THE END.

NOTHING in the Gospels has caused more perplexity than our Lord's prophecies of the end of the world: for the obvious reason that they do not seem to have been fulfilled. Explanations of some sort are therefore very necessary. They have been offered in abundance, on extremely varying lines, agreeing in nothing but in being very unsatisfactory. They may be arranged as follows:—

I. Those that assume the truth of the predictions, divided into

A. Those that take them literally, and assert that they were literally fulfilled.

B. Those that take them in some non-natural sense, and assert that they will yet be fulfilled.

II. Those that assume the falsity of the predictions, divided into

A. Those that charge the error on the Evangelists, as having misrepresented our Lord.

B. Those that charge it upon our Lord, as having been Himself mistaken.

Class A in section I. is practically summed up in the person of the able and earnest author of the Parousia, and his disciples. There is nothing to mar the complete satisfaction which one may find in this solution, save the fact that the one event upon which it turns—the bodily assumption of the first generation of Christians—is absolutely unknown to history or to Christian tradition. However difficult it is to prove a negative, it is (to the vast majority of minds) still more difficult to believe in the

actual occurrence of so stupendous an event without one shred of positive evidence, direct or indirect.

In Class B of section I. must be arranged almost all the explanations offered by "orthodox" commentators. The discrepancy between our Lord's predictions and the event seeming to be so palpable, and the event itself being unalterable, the only course open is to manipulate the predictions, and to force them into colourable agreement with the event. Thus, *e.g.*, when our Lord says that "this generation shall not pass away till all things be accomplished,"[1] it may be asserted that He did not speak of the end of the world, but only of the fall of Jerusalem; or again, that "generation" is used for the whole Christian family (as in Ps. xxii. 30, R.V. margin), which shall certainly survive until the end of all things. But howsoever many and ingenious these endeavours may be—and even useful and praiseworthy in a sense—they do all suffer from this complaint, that they are unnatural and arbitrary. Sooner or later, therefore, they cease to satisfy, because men will not continue to believe that our Lord laid Himself out to convey a false impression. That He uttered dark sayings, the moral or religious truth of which lies deep down beneath the surface; that He constantly used metaphors and parables, which only yield up their fulness of meaning slowly and partially, and are capable even of being misapplied, is, of course, quite certain. But that, in speaking to His own, He deliberately used familiar words in a sense which none could possibly have suspected; or so ordered His sentences as to be inevitably understood to be speaking of one thing when He really referred to another; *that* is incredible. The mere suggestion is felt as a wrong to Him. He has not deserved it of us that we should think Him capable of what is indistinguishable from deceit.

[1] St. Luke xxi. 22.

It is the merit of all those solutions which belong to section II., that they recognise quite frankly the discrepancy between the predictions and the event; their *demerit* (in the eyes of most of us, probably), that they account for it by methods which are practically destructive of Christian assurance. If the Synoptists, all three of them, so entirely misunderstood our Lord in this matter, how can we ever feel sure that they understood Him aright? If the books which go by their names contain reminiscences in this respect so inaccurate and so unfair to Him, where can we feel justified in trusting them? No doubt there are good Christians and learned men who are prepared to accept this difficulty, and out of their inner consciousness, enlightened by critical acumen (which, however, differs in every one of them), to decide wherein the Gospels may be believed, and wherein not. To most of us, however, such an acknowledgment would be a confession of despair.

If, on the other hand, our Lord were (in part at any rate) accurately reported, but was Himself deceived; if He falsely persuaded Himself that He should die indeed, but be raised again, and presently be given back by the power of God to reign gloriously over His own; then we who have hoped in Him are of all men most miserable. For what becomes of all those assurances about our own future in which we have trusted?

Thus we seem shut up to a choice between assumptions, all of which are either impossible or intolerable.

All the while there remains another solution, which is not at all intolerable if we suffer ourselves to contemplate it patiently; and this solution is the simplest and most natural of all, if we approach the question from the side of holy Scripture itself. That this method, wherever available, is the right one, will hardly be denied, because our Lord Himself so continually referred those that questioned Him, or disputed His authority and claims, to the Old

Testament. His method of appeal to the Scriptures may indeed have its surprises and its difficulties for us; but there can be no uncertainty as to the entire conviction with which He leaned upon its authority and its witness.

Now if we betake ourselves to the Old Testament, we are met at once with the fact that the "eschatological discourses" of our Lord have numerous parallels and forerunners in the writings of the Prophets. The "vision of the end" is a kind of inspired literature very well known in the Old Testament, and very fairly well understood in all its proper features. If in years gone by this particular element in prophecy has been neglected, and has seemed of small account, or even of doubtful value, so that many readers and commentators have passed by on the other side and left it for a prey to the scornful, all this has only been by reason of the shameful ignorance in which we were content to remain. We know now that the writings of the Prophets form the true introduction to the New Testament; that "the Law" came in by a side door (as St. Paul says) [1] out of the true line of development, which in truth runs straight on from Hosea and Amos through all "the goodly fellowship of the Prophets," to John the Baptist, and so to our Lord Himself. The Pentateuch is not of course without its profound religious interest, but the New Testament unquestionably stands (historically and spiritually) in a much closer connection with the prophetical writings than with anything else, unless it be the Psalms. The simple reason is, that the prophecies and Psalms are the direct and natural expression of the actual religious life of the people of God, of the Israel which was His "son"; [2] whereas "the Law" embodies an ideal of formal and largely artificial holiness, based on an isolation from the religious life of the world very necessary for those times of waiting, but out of harmony with God's abiding purposes

[1] Rom. v. 20. [2] Hos. xi. 1.

for His Church. Whether from a directly religious point of view, therefore, or from an historical and literary, it is in the Psalms, and especially in the prophecies, that one has to seek for the roots of all New Testament ideas, methods, revelations. What the modern criticism of the Old Testament has taught us (apart from its uncertain, and perhaps unfounded, assertions) is in general only what St. Paul has told us from his point of view, that "the Law" is quite as much a development hostile to the spirit of the gospel as a discipline preparatory to it: only what St. John has assured us of from another point of view, that "the testimony of Jesus is the spirit of *prophecy*." [1] It is in the Old Testament generally, it is in the writings of the Prophets especially, that we are to seek the guidance we need for the true understanding of our Lord's vision of the future as declared in the eschatological passages of the Gospels.

We start, then, from this firm ground and proceed to consider the passages in the prophetical books which resemble in their general character those discourses of our Lord in which we find so much difficulty. The one feature, common to them, which at once arrests our attention, is what is called (from its constant reappearance and well-marked character) the law of prophetic perspective. If we take, *e.g.*, such an example as Joel's vision of the end—contained in chapters ii. and iii.—we find that it stands in his book, just as it stood in his mind, in the closest connection with a certain visitation of locusts. It does not seem possible to doubt that the whole of this highly rhetorical imagery of an hostile army, of its frightful ravages, of the desolation it left behind, of its sudden overthrow and removal, is nothing else than a poetical rendering of a more than usually destructive invasion of locusts. The terror caused by such an invasion is not in fact exaggerated. The French under Mélac were not so frightful a scourge, they

[1] Rev. xix. 10.

left no such desolation and despair behind them, as the pitiless and insatiable army of the locust. Nor is the suddenness of recovery exaggerated when God is pleased to rebuke the enemy, and the land has leave to show what it can do (with Heaven's blessing) to repair the ruin which he wrought. This is Joel's burden: it is this, with the lessons which belong to it, that fills his field of vision. This; and, in immediate connection with this, the end of the world. "It shall come to pass afterwards"[1] is the only note of transition to the great outpouring of the Spirit, to the signs in sun and moon, to the great and terrible day of the Lord. All the rest of Joel's prophecy concerns the end as he saw it, the gathering of the heathen into the valley of Jehoshaphat, the special vengeance to fall upon the Phœnician slave raiders, the "multitudes, multitudes, in the valley of decision." Over and beyond the flight of the locust hordes, in coming and going; over and beyond the havoc and the return of plenty; the Prophet does not see anything, is not aware of anything, but the great day of the Lord, with its signs preceding, its terrors and judgments accompanying. The structure of the book is so simple that there is no excuse for failing to take this in; and certainly there is neither commonsense nor piety in endeavouring to disguise so plain a feature of prophecy as if there were something derogatory in it. No doubt it is surprising: the methods employed by the All-Wise, whether in Providence or in Revelation, always are surprising, until we have learnt in one thing after another to accommodate our thoughts to His.

Let us then take Joel ii. and apply to it the measuring-rod of time as known to history. Verses 1–27 are entirely concerned with a locust visitation of which we cannot fix the date, because no record and no special remembrance of it has survived, save in this writing itself. All we can say

[1] Joel ii. 28.

of it is, that, at the time, it was an appalling disaster which occupied all minds and all tongues in Israel. Whether it occurred towards the beginning or towards the end of the period of written prophecy, we cannot tell; neither does it make the least difference. Verses 28, 29 refer to the events of the Day of Pentecost (as St. Peter witnesses [1])—not perhaps exclusively, but in an especial way. These events were separated from Joel's age by many long centuries crowded with judgments and mercies of the most tremendous import for Israel and the world. Verses 30–32 refer to the last signs, which are to usher in the Second Advent and the Great Judgment. Our Lord Himself witnesses to this, speaking of these signs in the sun and moon and stars as the immediate forerunners of the end of the world.[2] Our Lord was very well acquainted with Joel's prophecy, and must be taken as having consciously adopted Joel's language. We know now that the end of the world was destined to be separated in time from the events of Pentecost by a much vaster interval, and one much more full of interest and importance, than that which came between Pentecost and the age of Joel. It is obvious that if we insist upon introducing considerations of time, we reduce this prophecy of Joel to an absurdity; at any rate we deprive it of any teaching value. It must be looked at from some other point of view than that of chronology.

It is not difficult to find that other and truer point of view if we are willing to learn the laws and methods of inspired prophecy from the Prophets themselves. They prophesied of the future as it was given them, and it was given them by way of (mental) vision. The Prophet spake of what he saw; and what he saw, he saw from the standpoint of his own immediate surroundings (in time and place), subject therefore, of necessity, to the laws of (pro-

[1] Acts ii. 16.

[2] St. Matt. xxiv. 29–31, and parallel passages.

phetic) perspective. Right in front of him stood some tremendous event of the nearer future, which formed his peculiar "burden." With Joel it was the locust army and its dispersion. With most of the others it was either the fall of Jerusalem or the return from Babylon. And behind this—*immediately* behind and above this—the Day of the Lord, sometimes seen as a single event, sometimes as a series of events. Everybody knows what the laws of vision are when one looks out toward a mountain country. The first lofty hill, whatever it may be, occupies almost all the field; and immediately behind this the higher mountains which rise above it, range behind range may be, all crowded together, and perhaps melting into one another in the haze of distance. These mountains may be separated from the nearer hills by immense intervals of plain, and from one another by impassable ravines or widely-lying valleys; but of all this the eye receives nothing. For it, by the ordinary law of perspective, these distance measurements do not exist: from the lower and nearer it inevitably travels straight onwards and upwards to the higher and more distant without sense of interval. It is exactly the same with the outlook of the Prophets into the future. What lies always in the background, what for them is the absolutely necessary *terminus ad quem*, the Day of the Lord, is seen *not only immediately beyond some great and crucial event in the near future, but also in direct connection with it.* Sometimes indeed the connection is so close that the two events are to a certain extent blended, and cannot be disentangled in the imagery employed by the Prophet. This is particularly liable to occur when the two events are morally and religiously *cognate*—as the Fall of Jerusalem and the Great Judgment; or the Return from Babylon and the Restitution of all things. *Time distance*, therefore, almost disappears in the case of the prophetic, just as *space distance* does in the case of ordinary perspective. It exists indeed,

but under such peculiar conditions as to become incalculable, and practically negligible when the object of vision is far away. No one, *e.g.*, studying the Prophets at large could possibly have suspected that the first and the second coming of our Lord would not only be two quite distinct events, but events separated by an immense tract of time. Lying, as they did, in the same direct line of prophetic vision, they were so far merged that the characteristic features of the one were constantly seen as if they belonged to the other. John the Baptist himself, although contemporary with the first advent, was yet subject to this law, and suffered from it. Even he transferred to the first coming some of the features of the second: the thorough cleansing of the floor, the gathering into the garner, the burning of the refuse with "unquenchable fire."[1] It was this which gave point to his prison query, "Art Thou He that cometh, or look we for another?"[2] For as he lay and listened with what patience he might in his dreary dungeon, he heard no ringing of the axe, no sound of the winnowing-fan, no roaring of the furnace; only the still small voice of One that did not strive nor cry, nor make His voice to be heard in the street, but went about quietly doing good, and talking comfortably to poor people.

It is not possible to overlook this law of prophetic foresight in the Old Testament, it is so constant and so marked. The vision of the end is indeed of vast and primary importance, for the end tries all, proves all, justifies all—even God Himself. But the vision of the end is always seen as the immediate sequel to some great event in the near future, and does in certain cases rise so directly out of it that the two are not kept clearly distinct in vision or in speech. The inner justification of this law is not far to seek, when one remembers that God is the same, and His workings are all of one, whether He and they be manifested in the

[1] St. Matt. iii. 12. [2] St. Matt. xi. 3.

coming and going of the locust hordes or in the end of the world. Anyhow, the fact itself is indubitable: that was the way in which the prophecies of the Old Testament were written, because it was the way in which the Prophets themselves foresaw the future.

Was it otherwise with Him who speaks to us in the eschatological passages towards the end of the synoptical Gospels? It seems to us that, as a matter of fact, He *did* so speak of the end of the world, seeing it in His prophetic vision directly beyond and above the fall of Jerusalem, and not clearly discerning ought of the enormous time interval which was to separate the two events; so that in His words they are to a certain extent intertwined. But this fact would be in the highest degree disquieting if it implied that our Lord "erred" or "was mistaken" in this matter. It is because we recognise clearly that the fact in question is in essential conformity with the Divine methods in revelation—as made known to us in holy Scripture—that we accept it and welcome it as one of those "ways" of God which are so much higher than our (preconceived) ways would have been. For it is sufficiently evident that, while our Lord in His proper personality was unapproachable in glory and greatness, while in His work of redemption and salvation He stood alone and incomparable, in His *teaching* office it was not so. He taught indeed with authority, and not as did the scribes; but this was precisely what the Prophets had done, and what He did because He was "*the Prophet* which should come into the world." He taught sublimer truths, and taught them more incisively, but He did not (as a fact) depart from the methods used by the older Prophets. Moreover, it is abundantly certain that it was no part of His mission to predict for the benefit of His followers what was going to happen. He spoke of their future only in the vaguest and most general terms, preparing them for the persecution and

obloquy which lay immediately before them, but giving not the slightest hint of the course which Christian history has in fact followed. In a word, the element of "vaticination" (as distinguished from true prophecy) is entirely absent from our Lord's teaching. As He said Himself,[1] it was not good, and therefore it was not intended, for His disciples "to know the times and the seasons," *i.e.*, to have any chronological knowledge of the future: the Father had kept all that in His own hands. The one exception was the imminent fall of Jerusalem. Our Lord *was* commissioned, as the Great Prophet, as a minister of the circumcision for the truth of God,[2] to declare—as so many of His predecessors had declared—the wrath of God against the apostate city. And in declaring it, He spake after the same fashion as they, seeing before Him in the immediate foreground the frightful catastrophe of the final siege and fall of Jerusalem, seeing behind it and above it, without apparent interval, that end of all things, that final judgment of all men, which from a Scriptural point of view is but the analogue and counterpart (on a world-wide scale) of that catastrophe. In His relation to Jerusalem He certainly *was* "a minister of the circumcision for the truth of God," just as all the Prophets had been in their time and according to their measure. Assume that it was in this capacity that He spake in those eschatological passages, and how else should He speak than as He did? for how else should the vision of the future come to His human soul?

"Then, after all, you mean that He was mistaken, and that He misled His followers?" That His followers *were* misled is a fact which we have anyhow to allow and to reckon with. They *did* expect, for a time, that the end of the world would come in their day; and this expectation arose naturally enough out of His sayings. Being chiefly

[1] Acts i. 7. [2] Rom. xv. 8.

Gentiles, and not knowing the writings of the Prophets, they misunderstood this vision of the end, just as so many modern Christians have done.

But to say that He was "mistaken" is perverse and profane, because it is to say that all the Prophets were "mistaken"—which is to accuse God of continually deceiving them, because He gave them their vision of the future in His own way, best for them, and best for us. If we take pleasure in confessing that the Holy Ghost, the Lord and Giver of Life, "spake by the Prophets," how can we thus disparage and insult *His* work, *His* method? It was a method worthy of God's Spirit, of the Spirit of Truth. If it was worthy of Him in the case of Joel or of Isaiah—inspired messengers and ministers of God—why not worthy of Him in the case of the Son of man? God who spake to us of old by the Prophets, hath now spoken to us by His Son; in this matter, wherein His office so nearly resembled theirs, He spake in both cases after the same law of revelation.

It need not be denied that when we find our Lord thus speaking of future things, with such apparent disregard or even defiance of chronology, we are at first staggered, and cannot bring ourselves to credit it. But that is, after all, only because we had so little cared to study, so largely failed to understand, the actual methods according to which the Holy Ghost spake by the Prophets. It seemed good to the Holy Ghost *thus* to impart to them that vision of the end which it was so great a part of their office to declare unto their brethren. Are not His ways, His methods, the truest and the best? Are they not most mercifully adapted to human needs precisely *there*, where they seem faulty and inaccurate to the hasty and superficial judgment? Is it not essential to man's religious nature that the vision of the end should be constantly and effectually kept before his eyes, and yet equally essential that he

should *not* know the times and the seasons, *not*, in fact, have any real clue given him concerning them? In the wisdom of God, this double necessity was provided for in His revelation of future things unto His servants the Prophets. Thus, and to this purpose, the Holy Ghost spake by the Prophets, giving them their vision of the end in that fashion which we find so strange and yet so undeniable in their prophecies. Why should we stumble at the same thing in our Lord? Why should not His vision of the end be as theirs? He is not here the Redeemer, the Saviour of the World, the Revealer of the Father: He is the Judge of Israel; He is the last and greatest Minister of the Circumcision; He is the Prophet of whom Moses said, "like unto me." If it was given to Him—as to certain of them—to see the fall of Jerusalem right before Him, and directly beyond and above that the end of all things, how could he *speak* more naturally than He did of what He *saw*?

RAYNER WINTERBOTHAM.

AMOS V. 26 (21–27).

The purpose of this paper is to suggest the original arrangement of the material contained in Amos v. 21–27, and to offer an explanation of some particular points which will relieve the difficulties connected with the most perplexing passage of the whole book.

It is, I presume, agreed by most students of the Old Testament that the genuine prophecies of Amos date between 765 and 750 B.C.

In chapters iii.–vi. the Prophet emphasizes the certain and speedy approach of God's judgment upon Israel. His denunciation of the people becomes stronger and more emphatic as he continues, and the coming disaster is described, more vividly than ever before, in v. (26) 27 (*see* vi. 7). The visitation threatened by Yahweh cannot be averted much longer; "no, even though you would bring unto me all your much-vaunted sacrifices":

21 I hate, I despise your feast days;
I will not smell (the sweet savour)[1] during your assemblies.[2]
22 Though ye offered unto me your burnt-offerings and cereal oblations,[3] I will not be satisfied;
Nor will I regard the peace-offerings of your fatlings.

[1] Lev. xxvi. 31; Isa. xi. 3; cf. Deluge-account, 160 ff.: the gods smelt the savour (of Pir-napištim's offering); the gods smelt the goodly savour; the gods gathered like flies over the sacrificer. IV. Rawl. 19*a* 57–8: the great gods iç-çi-nu gut-rin-nu (smell the burnt- [or smoke-] offering; descent of Ištar. Rev. 58 gut-ri-in li-iç-çi-nu.

[2] See Morris, Jastrow, Jr., *Am. Jour. Theol.*, vol. ii., April, 1898, pp. 335–7, on the meaning of עצרת; Driver, *The Books of Joel and Amos* (Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges), 1897, p. 186; and C. H. Toy, *Jour. Bib. Lit.*, 1899, p. 194.

[3] Parallel to the connection of עלות ומנחתיכם, with pron. suff. added to the second noun only, is the frequent occurrence of this construction in Assyrian literature, *e.g.* Tigl. Pil., i. col. i. 7, narkabāti u um-ma-na-te-ia, my chariots and my warriors; ii. 6; iii. 44 and often.

23 Away from me with the sound of thy songs;
And the music of thy harps I will not hear.[1]

Away! says Yahweh; your service is but noise, it cometh not from the heart; your sacrifices and your offerings, that ye offer to me now, are not sacrifices and offerings at all in my sight. Outwardly, to be sure, they are magnificent; holocausts and hecatombs offered—not unto me, but unto your own vanity and self-glory. O ye hypocrites! what to me (Yahweh would say to this present generation) are the thousands of dollars that your rich men put on the plate before the eyes of the whole congregation, when the collection is taken up? What to me are your highly-paid church choirs? What to me are your beautiful, majestic church buildings, that cost you hundreds of thousands of dollars?! Incense to your own vanity, not sweet savour unto me! Such sweet savour I will not smell; it is an abomination to me.

O house of Israel, thou stiffnecked people; the same thou art now, that thou wert in the past. For:

25 Was it (really) sacrifices and cereal oblations with which ye approached me in the wilderness for forty years, O house of Israel?

No! is Yahweh's emphatic answer. It was not true sacrifices and offerings that were brought unto me. You know well that the house of Israel rebelled against me in the wilderness; they walked not in my statutes and they despised my judgments; my sabbaths they greatly polluted; for their heart was after their idols (Ezek. xx. 13 ff.). Such were the sacrifices ye brought unto me on most occasions; and only when I punished you did ye repent and return unto me. But, then, O house of Israel, thou wast in thy youth, and mine eye spared thee from destroying

[1] See Hosea vi. 6; Micah vi. 7; Isa. i. 11 ff.; Jer. vi. 20; vii. 21; Driver, *op. cit.*, pp. 234–6.

thee; neither did I make an end of thee in the wilderness. Hoping almost against hope, I continued to show thee mercy and lovingkindness; I was gracious and longsuffering unto my people from generation to generation. Their sacrifices, to be sure, were as vain in my sight then as yours are now. But there was then, at least, one redeeming feature. Your ancestors in the wilderness were not the hypocrites that you are; they rebelled openly; ye, my people, rebel against me in your heart, while outwardly being the most zealous worshippers.[1] No longer will I spare thee, O house of Israel; as truly as my name is "The God of hosts."

24 Judgment shall roll as waters;
And righteousness as a perennial stream.

I am done with you. My judgment will come upon you swiftly and irresistibly; and just punishment, the expression of my righteousness (cf. Isa. v. 16; x. 22; xxviii. 17; also xxvi. 9; Keil and Hitzig, *ad* Am. v. 24; also Siegfried and Stade, *Wörterbuch*, p. 616) shall be meted out to you;

27 And I will carry you away into captivity, even beyond Damascus,
Saith Yahweh, whose name is "The God of hosts."

It will be observed that the above arrangement departs somewhat from the order of the common text, but it seems to me that this must have been the original sequence of thought in this last paragraph of the Prophet's impassionate warning. There is no need to assume, with Wellhausen (*Die kleinen Propheten*, ed. 2, p. 83), Nowack (*Die kleinen Propheten*, 1897, p. 143), and others, that in the place of verse 26—rejected by almost all modern critics as a later gloss—there stood originally another severe threat or warn-

[1] Nathaniel Schmidt, *Jour. Bib. Lit.*, 1894, (xiii.) pp. 1–3, 11 ff.; and Duncan B. Macdonald, *ibid.*, 1899, (xviii.) pp. 214–15, defend views diametrically opposed to one another, but neither appears to have grasped the real significance of this passage.

ing, to which verse 27 was the logical sequence.[1] The arrangement of the text as given above relieves us of this assumption, which has always seemed most improbable to me. "And I will carry you away into captivity, even beyond Damascus." Syria was the most powerful enemy by whom God had heretofore chastened the house of Israel (2 Kings xiii. 7). Now God will bring against them a mightier foe. Damascus shall be their pathway to captivity. God will cause them to go into captivity, not to Damascus, whence they might easily return, but beyond it. "Amos does not, indeed, once name Assyria, and he seems to have no clear idea of the geography of the region 'beyond Damascus.' But every one knows what he means when he warns his hearers that Yahwè 'will raise up against them a nation' (vi. 14; cp. Isa. v. 26, where read לַגּוֹי), and 'will carry them into captivity beyond Damascus'" (Cheyne, *Encylopædia Biblica*, vol. i., article "Amos," § 5, cols. 149, 150).

If Amos was, indeed, the kind of man that the book of Amos represents him to be, he must have known, not from books, but from practical intercourse and life, that the Mesopotamian empire was the world power that could, and eventually would, subjugate Israel and Judah.

In volume iii. of Rawlinson, *The Cuneiform Inscriptions from Western Asia* (=Rawl.), plate 5, no. 6, is related the siege of Damascus by Shalmaneser II. of Assyria, 860–825 B.C., and the tribute of Jehu, king of Israel, paid to the

[1] Nor do we need to assume, with Canon Cheyne, *Encyclopædia Biblica*, vol. i., cols. 153–4: "The whole verse is more than probably a later insertion which took the place of a passage that had become illegible. The case of Isa. x. 4*a* seems exactly parallel (see *SBOT.*, *ad loc.* [pp. 5*b* and 85, where reference might have been made also to *Am. Jour. Philol.*, vol. viii. 270]). . . . We may suppose that the writer of the inserted passage merely antedates a worship introduced into Samaria by the Babylonian colonists after 722 B.C. The awkwardness of the connection need not surprise us (this against König, *Syntax*, § 368*b*). The ו in וְנִשָּׂ֫א is the *waw explicativum* so often prefixed to glosses. Render: 'that is, ye carried in procession'—(cf. Isa. xlv. 20)."

Assyrian monarch.[1] Even before that, in the sixth year of his rule (854 B.C.) this same monarch fought against Hadadezer, of Damascus, against the kings of the Hatti-land, and those of the sea coast who had come to assist the king of Damascus.[2] Then followed the three Syrian campaigns of Ashurdān III. (773–755 B.C.), in 773, 772, and 755.[3] Above all, the splendid campaign of Adadnirāri III. (797 B.C.) recorded in I. Rawl. 35, no. 1.[4]

Knowing these facts of recent history as well as "the boastful pride of the governing classes in the military resources of Israel, Amos prophesied as close at hand the downfall of the kingdom, which just at that moment was rejoicing most in the consciousness of power,[5] and the deportation to a far-off northern land" (Wellhausen).

Amos died; but the event which he had foreseen and foretold was not long in coming: Samaria succumbed, after a desperate resistance, to Sargon, Shalmaneser IV.'s suc-

[1] Lines 23*b*–26 read ina ū-me-šu-ma ma-da-tu ša (māt) Çur-ra-a-a (māt) Ci-du-na-a ša Ja-u-a mār χu-um-ri-i am-yur, *i.e.*, "at that time I received tribute also from the inhabitants of Tyre and Sydon (and) from Jehu, the son of Omri." See also the Annals of Shalmaneser, on the Obelisk of Nimrud, lines 97, 98, 99, and the second inscription above the reliefs of the same obelisk, where the ma-da-tu ša Ia-u-a mār χu-um-ri-i is enumerated in detail (*KB.*, i. 140 and 150).

[2] See *KB.*, i. 132, 134.

[3] Eponym. list (II. Rawl., pl. 52; *KB.*, i. 208ff.) where we read:

773 [Man-nu-ki-Adad ša (māt?)] šal(?)-lat | a-na (al) Di-maš-ga.

772 [Ašur-bēl-ugur ša (al) Kal]-χi | a-na (māt) χa-ta-ri-ka (= Hadrach, north of the Lebanon).

755 [Ki-i-su ša (al)] Me-χi-ni-iš | a-na (māt, *var.* al) χa-ta-ri-ka.

Another expedition was made in 754 B.C., a-na (māt, *var.* al) Ar-pad-da (Arpad). In the year 765 B.C. we read also of another expedition against the country of Hadrach; but the campaign was checked by a plague, for the word mu-ta-nu is added. A plague (mu-ta-nu) must have marred also the success of the expeditions in 803 and 759 B.C.

[4] Adadnirāri who (4) under the protection of Ašur his lord . . . (11) . . . ištu eli (nār) Purattu (māt) χat-ti (māt) A-mur-ri ana si-χir-ti-ša, (12) (māt) Çur-ru (māt) Çi-du-nu (māt) χu-um-ri-i (māt) U-du-mu (māt) Pa-la-as-tu (13) a-di eli tam-dim rabī-ti ša šul-mu (il) šam-ši ana šēpi-ia (14) u-šek-niš, biltu ma-da-tu eli-šu-nu-u-kin, etc.

[5] Assyria declined, while Israel flourished under Jeroboam II. (782–741 B.C.).

cessor, in 721 B.C.[1] "The victor adopted energetic measures for the pacification of the country; he carried all the inhabitants of mark into captivity to Calachene, Gozanitis, and Armenia. Much light is thrown upon the conditions of the national religion then and upon its subsequent development by the single fact that the exiled Israelites were absorbed by the surrounding heathenism without leaving a trace behind them. (Wellhausen, *History of Israel and Judah*, ed. 3, London, 1891, pp. 92–3.)

A later prophet, well acquainted with the utterances of Amos and with the ultimate fate of the Israelites, a man, prophet and historian, perhaps one of the literary associates of King Hezekiah, described the religious assimilation of the exiles most succinctly in the words (verse 26) which the post-exilic redactor and editor of the whole book incorporated into the text of the Prophet's utterances. I do not quite agree with Cornill, *Einleitung*, § 25, that this final redactor reduced the utterances of Amos to writing. It is more probable that they were written out either by a contemporary scribe or by the same man who, I believe, added verse 26, "on the margin" so to speak, whence the

[1] Sargon, Annals, lines 11–13 (17): "I besieged and took the city of Samaria (al Sa-me-ri-na); 27,290 of the people, that dwelt therein, I carried away. Also see Khorsabad, 23, 24, Cylinder-inscr. 19, where Samaria is called (mât) Bît χu-um-ri-a rap-ši, *i.e.* the wide country of the house of Omri. Line 20 of this inscription says that Sargon defeated the Ta-mu-di, the I-ba-di-di, the Mar-si(-i)-ma-ni, the χa-ça-pa-a; those among these peoples, that were not killed (*i.e.* Si-il-ta-šu-nu) were taken away (from their own country) and were deported to the land of the house of Omri, which was greatly depopulated (cf. 2 Kings xvii. 6–24). It is a great pity that the Eponym list, with chronological additions, published in II. Rawl., pl. 52, breaks off at 723 B.C., and that the supplementary list Rm. 2, 97 (*KB.*, iii. (2) 144–47) is so fragmentary. Concerning the exact date of the fall of Samaria, historians are not agreed; 722 B.C. is advocated by Stade, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, vol i. p. 600; Winckler, *Keilschrifttexte Sargons*, vol. i., pref. xvi.; and *Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens*, 234, 237 (722 B.C., end); Kittel, *History of the Hebrews*, vol. ii., p. 350; Cornill, *History of the People of Israel*, p. 125. 721 B.C. is accepted by Wellhausen, *History of Israel and Judah*; Hommel, *Geschichte Babyloniens und Assyriens*, pp. 675–6. Also see Tiele, *Geschichte*, 239, 257. Willis J Beecher, *Jour. Bib. Lit.*, 1892 (xi.), pp. 210–13, advocates the year 718 B.C.

final redactor incorporated the verse, with slight changes, into the text preceding verse 27, and transposed, for the sake of clearness, as he thought, verses 24 and 25.

And these are the words of that unknown writer which he addressed to the Israelites, now in captivity, as if they were present:

26. And (now) ye worship[1] Ninib as your decider (or king) and even as your *elohīm*; and the star Saturn, as your idol, which ye have made unto yourselves, *i.e.*:

ונשׂאתם את סכות מלככם ואלהיכם
ואת כיון כוכב צלמ[י]כם אשר עשׂיתם לכם:[2]

The words סכות and כיון have long ago been recognised as foreign Assyrian words; but I believe that the writer of verse 26 has in the structure of the whole verse, as well as in the choice of words, imitated, with a touch of sarcasm, Assyrio-Babylonian grammar to the best of his knowledge. He uses נשׂא in imitation of Assyrian našū gātā,[3] literally: "to lift up the hands" (in prayer to a god), in the meaning of "pray to, worship." The Assyrian may have been used even without the gātā. It is, of course, quite possible to explain נשׂא in the meaning of "to carry about" idols in solemn procession (Isa. xlv. 20; xlvi. 1, 7; Jer. x. 5). Statues of Marduk and Nabū were carried about in solemn

[1] With August Köhler, *Lehrbuch der bibl. Geschichte Alten Testamentes*, vol. i. p. 310, rm. 7; Tiele, *Gesch. der Religion im Altertum*, vol. i. p. 336, and others, we believe that this verse refers to the present, not to the past (as Hitzig, G. Baur, Keil, Pusey, N. Schmidt, Macdonald, and others), nor to the future (as Ewald, Schrader, Schmoller, Orelli, Valeton, König, Driver, and others), unless the frequentative meaning is accepted for ונשׂאתם. See also below, last footnote but one.

[2] Vollers, "Das Dodekapropheton der Alexandriner," *ZATW.*, vol. iii. p. 266, says: "Vorlage von S (=LXX.) für Am. vi. 26 war ונשׂתם את־סכּת מלכּך: ואת־כוכב אלהיכם ריפן צלמיכם אשׂר עשׂיתם לכם. Of course, one could translate thus with the LXX.: "And the star of your *elohīm* (*i.e.* Ninib) kaimānu." It is, however, by no means necessary to say with Nowack, *Kl. Proph.*, p. 143: "Offenbar ist "א" ב eine Glosse, die in dem hebräischen Text der LXX. an richtiger, in unserm an falscher Stelle, eingedrungen ist."

[3] The exact equivalent of našū gātā occurs in Psalm lxiii. 5, בשׂמך אשׂא כפי, and xxviii. 2, בנשׂאי ידי אל דביר קדשׁך.

procession at the Babylonian New Year's festival. The ונשׂאתם in its frequentative meaning (Cowley-Gesenius, § 112, *rr*) would be most appropriate.

סִכּוּת. Volumes, so to speak, have been written on the meaning of this word and on that of כִּיּוּן. Most writers have admitted that the pointing of the two words is of later date than the original composition of the whole verse. It is later than the translation of this book into the Greek of the Septuagint, where we read: *καὶ ἀνελάβετε τὴν σκηνὴν τοῦ Μολὸχ καὶ τὸ ἄστρον τοῦ θεοῦ ὑμῶν Ῥαιφαν* (cod. Marchalianus, *Ῥεφαν*) *τοὺς τύπους αὐτῶν οὓς ἐποιήσατε ἑαυτοῖς.*

The Greek translator evidently read סִכַּת;[1] Aquila's *συσκιασμούς* translates סכות; *συσκιασμός* = *συσκίασις*; Vulgate *tabernaculum* translates the LXX. text; Targ. (Lagarde) סיכות follows the Massor. text; Jerome's *sochot* presupposes the reading סְכוֹת; Theodotion's *ὅρασις* assumes a noun derived from שׂכה, "to look, see." Both nouns were pointed by the Massoretic scholars after the ground-form *gittûl*, which, as G. Baur, *Der Prophet Amos*, 1847, p. 369, has well shown, was given by preference to words indicating idolatry, idols, and foreign gods.[2] In his well-

[1] Dozy, *De Israel. te Mekka*, 1864, pp. 37 f. (Germ. transl., pp. 33 f.); Vollers, and others. Canon Cheyne, Expositor, 1897, January, pp. 43, 44, against Geo. A. Smith, says: "It appears certain that, at the very least, Saccut and Kaiwan should be omitted as interpolations, and with them כוכב, the star, and either צלמיכם, or, better, אלהיכם (so Geo. A. Smith). The sense required is: 'Nay, rather, ye have carried idol-gods in procession.' This compels us to omit the whole verse as a late insertion."

[2] See also Baudissin, *Studien zur Semitischen Religionsgeschichte*, i. (1876), pp. 95–6, who mentions גִּלּוּלִים, "idols" (=logs, blocks, shapeless things); קִבּוּצִים, "heaps," referring to idols; Isa. lvii. 13, etc. In 1884, Theodor Nöldeke, in his clever review of Kautzsch's *Grammatik des Biblisch-Aramäischen* (*Gött. Gelehrt. Anzeigen*, 1884, vol. ii.) called attention to the fact (p. 1022) that these and many more cases are due to intentional mispointing, either on the part of the Old Testament writers to express their contempt for heathen idols (שִׁקּוּץ), or on the part of the Massoretic scholars, on the analogy of other well-known words. "Man sprach Götzennamen gern absichtlich falsch aus"; thus מֹלֶךְ, Μολόχ for מֶלֶךְ; עַשְׁתֹּרֶת for עַשְׁתָּרֶת (cf. Ἀστάρτη); Abedneğo for Abednebo; נִסְרֹךְ for נִסְרָךְ (Nasku, Halévy; but Cheyne otherwise); רִפּוֹן

known article "Kewan und Sakkuth" (*Studien und Kritiken*, 1874, pp. 324–35), Schrader has shown that סכות is but the Hebrew transliteration of (AN)SAG-KUD (literally: the supreme judge, chief arbiter), which in Assyrio-Babylonian literature occurs as one of the names (titles, or epithets) of the god Ninib ([il] Nin-ib, *i. e.* the Lord of the city of Ib; see Brünnow, *A Classified List of . . . Cuneiform Ideographs*, no. 10,479).[1] This, I believe, is now

(Ρεμμάν); Βεελχεβούλ=בַּעַלְזְבוּב, and others. The principle underlying the pointing of סכות and כיון has thus been established for many years, so that the clever remarks of Prof. C. C. Torrey, *Jour. Bib. Lit.*, 1894 (xiii.), 61–2, are not as unique as J. Taylor's remark in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, vol. i. pp. 383–4, would seem to make them. The fact that Driver, *Joel and Amos*, p. 189, rm. 2 says: "Which (namely, the Massoretic 'punctuation' of סכות) may be intended to suggest the word *shiḳḳutz*, 'detestable thing,' often applied to idols (Deut. xxix. 17, etc.)," either proves that Driver considers this as a long-accepted theory, making it unnecessary to quote Torrey's article in proof thereof, or that the learned Canon of Christ Church has done injustice to Torrey, for in note 4 on the same page he quotes Nathaniel Schmidt's article in the same vol. of *Jour. Bib. Lit.* Torrey's remark, *loc. cit.*, "For the attempt to connect Greek κίων with כיון, see Muss-Arnolt, 'Semitic Words in Greek and Latin,' in *Transactions of the Amer. Philol. Association*, 1892, p. 74 f.," is somewhat misleading for those who have not access to my article. I have there, on philological grounds, emphatically declared against a Semitic etymology of κίων.—According to König, *Lehrgebäude*, vol ii. 1, 151, the pointing כִּיּוּן is intended to suggest √ כון as something established firm.—The two passages 2 Kings xvii. 30 and Ezek. viii. 3, 5, where, according to Canon Cheyne, the original text contained in the one case a reference to Saccut and Kaiwan, and in the other one to Kaiwan, will be discussed in a special paper.

[1] II. Rawl. 37 *c-d* 40; Haupt, *ASKJ.*, 37, 31; III. Rawl. 68*a*, 16 (see Brünnow, *Classified List*, No. 3539). IV. Rawl.,[2] 52, col. iv. 9, 10 (=Zimmern, *Šurpu*, 10, 179 f.) we read (il) TI-BAL (il) SAG-KUD (il) UŠ (= kaimānu) | (il) Im-me-ri-ia lip-ṭu-ru. It may be of interest to note also that AN is not only= ilu, but also = kak-ka-bu (star), V. Rawl., 21 *g-h* 23; Jensen, *Kosmologie*, 136 f., 191 f. II. Rawl., 57 *c-d* 65 we read il Nin-ib=il Nin-pin (III. Rawl., 68 *g* 21; Brünnow, no. 11,007). Tiele, *Geschichte*, 528; Baethgen, *Beiträge zur Semitischen Religionsgeschichte*, p. 239, whose statements, however, call for some corrections. J. Taylor's note on p. 383 col. 2 of Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, vol. i., should have been revised by a competent Assyriologist. His reading A-TAR (A-tar) is Schrader's former reading A-DAR, which is now read Nin-ib.

On god Ninib, see especially Jeremias in Roscher's *Ausführl. Lexikon der Griechischen und Römischen Mythologie*, vol. iii., cols. 364–69. For the spelling of the name reference may perhaps be made to Asurb, i. 105, Bu-kur-ni-ni-ip (=Egypt. *Bok-en-ran-ef*); the -ni-ni-ip has, of course, no connection with Ninib, except that of popular analogy (*BA.*, i. 353, no. 15). Ninib is the god of

accepted by all students of the Old Testament, save Georg Hoffmann (*ZATW.*, vol. iii. p. 113). See also Baudissin, *Studien*, vol. i. pp. 22 and 335.

Nippur, and son of the old Bēl of Nippur (Jensen, *Kosmologie*, 457 ff.). His consort is Gula. He is first mentioned in Assyrian inscriptions in that of Ašur-reš-iši, 1150 B.C. He is the mighty one of the gods. For the pronunciation of the two characters, making up the name of the god, see especially Hommel, *PSBA.*, xix. 134, § 42; 312–13, where it is shown that the name is written Nin-ip (so usually) as well as Nin-ib (character: tum, ib); also *PSBA.*, 168–9; 135, § 46; *Expos. Times*, 1898, 330, col. 1, rm. 1. So against Hommel's former reading Nin-dar (*Sumer. Lesestücke*, 34–5, no. 401) and the commonly accepted (wrong!) reading A-dar. This notwithstanding the remarks of C. H. W. J(ohns) to the contrary, *Expos. Times*, June, 1898, 425, and *PSBA.*, xxi. 79. On (al) Bīt-Nin-ib, Tel-Amarna (Berl. 106=*KB.* v. no. 183), see Prof. Haupt, *Independent*, Jan. 12, 1899. Lines 14–15 of this letter read alu (māt) U-ru-sa-lim šu-mu-ša (al) Bīt-Nin-ib=the city of the land whose name is Jerusalem, Bīt-Ninib; also Tel-Amarna, London, 12, 31, ina Bīt-Nin-ib. According to Haupt it is=the temple of the Israelitish god of war and thunderstorms. The Assyrian scribe substituted the name of the Assyrian deity Ninib for the Canaanitish Yahweh. This has, of course, no connection with, nor bearing on, Amos v. 26. Tel-Amarna, Berlin, 73, 39, mentions a king's servant Abd-Nin-ib.

Adrammelech, 2 Kings xix. 37; Isa. xxxvii. 38 can, of course, no longer be connected with an assumed Adar-malik (see Jensen, *Kosmologie*, 757 f.; Cheyne-Black, *Encycl. Bibl.*, i. col. 72). If the word is Assyrian—which is not proven at all—it might be a compound like Atra-χasis, on which see the literature cited in my *Concise Dictionary of the Assyrian Language*, p. 134; a form a-tar ilu also occurs. Atra-malik would probably yield אדרמלך.

2 Kings xvii. 31 mentions Adrammelech and Anammelech as gods of ספרים, a city perhaps identical with Šabara'in, mentioned in the Babylonian Chronicle, i. 27, or Subarina, of the Tel-Amarna Tablets (Halévy, *Recherches Critiques*, p. 259; *ZA.*, ii. 401 f.; Muss-Arnolt, *Assyrio-Babylonian Months*, pp. 26–7; on the other hand see Winckler, *Alttest. Untersuchungen*, 97 f.). May there not have been a connection between the name of the god Adrammelech, as far as the Adra- is concerned, with the (il) A-tar sa-ma-a-a-in of Ašurb, viii. 112, 124, the Aramean god עתר, the Phœnician *'Attâr* (cf. Atargatis, Ἀταργάτη='Attâr-Ate=Δερκετώ) and Greek Ἀθάρα (Strabo, xvi. 4, 27)? Anammelech, of course, is a much simpler form. It could be analogous to (il) A-nim šar-ru=Anu the king (of the gods), unless we prefer Geo. Hoffmann's explanation (*ZA.*, 1896, 258), according to which the name is ענת[מ]לך, *i.e.* Anath-malk. Anath (=Antu) was the consort of Anu; the second component part of both names -melech (=Assyrian -milki) occurs very often. The articles "Adrammelech" and "Anammelech" in Hastings' *Dictionary*, vol. i., contain nothing new. I beg to add that I hope shortly to discuss anew the questions involved in 2 Kings xvii. 31, and xix. 36, 37=Isa. xxxvii, 38; as well as 2 Chron. xxxii. 24, with special reference to the views of Canon Cheyne, Meinhold, Winckler, Johns, Kittel, and Benzinger.

מלככם could be either "your king" (if genuine Hebrew), or "your decider, your counsellor, in imitation of the Assyrio-Babylonian mal(i)ku. The close connection with אלהיכם would favour the former; to me, the latter seems more probable, especially inasmuch as mal(i)ku is found also as an epithet of Ninib (Jensen, *ZA.*, vol. i. 390–1, and others).[1] The LXX. read the Hebrew as a proper name, transliterating the *Μολόχ*. Originally the word must have been written *Μολέχ*, a pronunciation fashioned after בשֶׁת, as W. Rob. Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, i. p. 353, has said long ago; later, by assimilation, it became *Μολόχ*.[2]

"And the star כיון." The true reading of the word was suggested in modern literature by Justi, *Amos neu übersetzt*, etc., 1799, pp. 175 ff., and, later, by Gustav Baur, *Amos*, pp. 364–79. The latter on the basis of the Arabic-Persian كَيْوَان (see also Gesenius, *Commentar zu Jesaias*, vol. ii. 343 f.) read כִּיּוּן or כִּיּן. Prof. Haupt, *ZA.*, vol. ii. pp. 266, 281 f., read כַּיָּן, the Hebrew transliteration of Kaimānu (Ka-a-a-ma-nu, II. Rawl., 32, no. 3, 25; Haupt, *Akkad-Sum. Keil. schr. Texte*, 16, 250 = SAG-UŠ).[3] So first Jules Oppert. In II. Rawl., 49 *e f* 42 we find the same word explaining the star SAG-UŠ, which latter, according to

[1] Mal(i)ku occurs often in connection with gods. Marduk ma-lik ilāni (Merodach-Baladan-stone, i. 8); he has the ma-li-ku-ut ilani gi-mir, Creat.-frg. iii. 44; also Ea, and others are called maliku; (il) Ma-lik, II. Rawl. 60*a* 19 f., III. Rawl. 66*b* 9, etc. Proper names such as Nabū-ma-lik, A-šur-ma-lik, etc. Ašurnaçirpal i. 7 calls Ninib ilu šar-χu ša la e-nu-u mil-lik šu (see my *Concise Dictionary*, pp. 546–49).

[2] Aquila: Μο(α?)λχόμ; Sym., Theod.: *τοῦ βασιλέως ὑμῶν*. See also Ginsburg, *Introduction to the Hebrew Bible*, pp. 399–404; 459–61.

[3] Thus in IV. Rawl.,[2] 28 no. 1, 7–8, the sun-god is called i-ša ru ina šamē Ka-a-a-ma-nu (*i.e.* Kaimānu on the firmament); ideogram is AN-GUB-BA, which in IV. Rawl.,[2] 16*b* 3–4 = Ka-a-a-nu, thus indicating for both forms √ כון. K 4386 (= II. Rawl. 48) col. iv. 52 we read AN-LU-LIM (or AN = kakkab lu-lim ?) = AN-LU-BAT-SAG-UŠ. AN = kakkab; LU-BAT = bibbu, *i.e.* planet in general (see my *Dictionary*, p. 142); SAG-UŠ = Kaimānu; the whole = Planet Kaimānu. (Kakkab) LU-BAT is also = (il) Nin-ib (*i.e.* star of Ninib) II. Rawl., 57 *a–b* 50 (Brünnow, no. 10,709). Let it be said here, however, that Jeremias in his article "Ninib," *loc. cit.*, maintains that Mars is the planet of god Ninib.

Jensen, *Kosmologie der Babylonier*, pp. 111–114, 136 ff., 502, is the planet Saturn, the star of the god Ninib. It was called Kaimānu, "true, durable, eternal," because of its slow motion. (See also Lotz, *Quæstionum de historia Sabbati duo*, 1883, pp. 27 ff.).

The LXX. reading Ῥαιφαν is corrected by all modern writers into *Καιφαν*:[1] Peshittā reads kaivânâ; Aquila and Symmachus, *χιουν* (*χιών*); Jerome, *chion*; the Vulgate, *imaginem* (imago = simulacrum, statua), no doubt, considering כיון the same as *κίων*, or, at least, deriving the Hebrew from √כון. Theodotion's (*τὴν*) *ἀμαύρωσιν* is used thus by the translator for the same reason: *ἀμαύρωσις* = *κώνειον* (*κώνιον*), Dioscorides iv. 79; = a little *κῶνος*, Athenæus xiv. 61 (p. 649 D). This specific meaning of *ἀμαύρωσις*, agreeing beautifully with the Vulgate's *imaginem*, has escaped Fred. Field, who says in his *Origenis Hexaplorum quæ supersunt* (vol. ii., Oxonii, 1875, pp. 975–6): "Theodotion uses *ἀμαύρωσις* as if from √כָּהָה = *ἠμαύρωσεν*"; and Field translates accordingly: *obscuritatem*. It is true that the LXX. uses *ἀμαυρός* = כָּהֶה (Piel) six times, exclusively, in Leviticus, chap. xiii., a fact of some significance; the verb *ἀμαυροῦν* is used several times in LXX. Aquila, Sym. and Theod. use *ἀμαυρόν*, Isaiah xlii. 3 (4), where the LXX. has *καπνιζόμενος* (also see Isa. xlii. 3; 1 Sam. iii. 13).

The י in צלמיכם is of Massoretic origin, occasioned by the LXX.'s misunderstanding of the text. The י should be dropped[2] and צלמכם explained as "your idol (= statue, or

[1] Schrader, Nowack and others; Hastings, *Dictionary of the Bible*, vol. i. p. 383, and article "Chiun" in Cheyne-Black, *Encyclopædia Biblica*, vol. i., cols. 749–50; Keil, *Commentary on the Minor Prophets*, has some good notes on this point. Justi, in 1799, suggested that LXX. *ραιφαν* or *ρεμφαν* was either Egyptian *Ribha*, or a misreading of רִיְּן for כיון, transliterated *ρεμφαν*, which in Acts vii. 43 has become further corrupted into Ῥομφαν.

[2] This has been suggested long ago by Dozy, *op. cit.* (1864), pp. 37 f. Georg Hoffmann's statement (repeated by others): "Deutlich genug spricht die Stelle von zwei Göttern" (*ZATW.*, iii. 113) can no longer be accepted as true; neither is Nowack, *Archæologie*, ii. p. 309, quite correct.

picture)." Its true meaning is seen especially in Assyrio-Babylonian literature, where in texts on magic and sorcery, incantations, psalms, and prayers we find time and again "çalmu, çalam" indicating some picture or idol, which people made either to worship or to offer up as a substitute for themselves.[1] That צלמיכם belongs to א"ע"ל, George Adam Smith, i. p. 171, rm. 1, has correctly maintained.

This, I believe, is the correct interpretation of verse 26.[2]

[1] See Tallquist, *Die Assyrische Beschwörungsserie Maglû*, pp. 18, 19; Prince, *Am. Jour. Philology*, vol. xv. 114; also Jensen, *ZA.*, i. 390–1. For our purpose it will suffice to mention II. Rawl., 49 no. 3, 42, MUL-MI=AN (ça-al-me) RA-PA (or ra-χat ?) = AN-SAG-UŠ-AN-UD. Schwally derives Hebrew צֶלֶם from Assyrian çalmu, which is also borrowed further, in late Greek *ζαλμάτιον*. אשר עשׂיתם לכם refers, of course, to צלמכם, not to אלהיכם nor to כוכב (this against Baudissin, *Studien*, vol. i. 85, n. 1).

[2] For the sake of approximate completeness, it may be of interest to mention some of the most important suggestions and translations of recent commentators, in addition to those mentioned previously.—Wellhausen, *Die Kleinen Propheten*, 82–3, rejects כוכב as a gloss to כיון and צלמיכם as a gloss to אלהיכם. The whole verse is a late addition.—Nowack, *Die Kleinen Propheten*, agrees with Wellhausen. — Jensen, *ZA.*, i. 390–1: "Euren Sikkut-melek (=malik) und euren Kewān çalmē."—Orelli, *The Twelve Minor Prophets* (1893), 132-33: So you shall carry Saccuth, your king, and Kewan, your star-god, your images.—Valeton, *Amos und Hosea*, Giessen, 1898, pp. 37–9, 211–12, offers nothing new. — Nowack, *Archæologie*, ii. 309: "Auf Assyrischen Einfluss weist die in den Tagen des Amos uns entgegentretende Verehrung des Sakkut (=Adar) und des כִּיּוּן=Assyr. Kaivân, d. i., Saturn. Nach Amos 5, 26 gab es in Nordisrael Bilder dieser Götter, welche man verehrte und welche Israel mit in die Gefangenschaft tragen soll."—N. Schmidt, *Jour. Bib. Lit.*, 1894 (xiii.) 11: "Did ye then carry about the tabernacle of your king, the image of your god which ye have made for yourselves?"—Canon Driver, *Joel and Amos*, 189: "But ye shall take up Sakkuth your king, and Kaiwān your images, the star of your god, which ye made to yourselves; and I will cause you to go into exile beyond Damascus, saith Jehovah."—Geo. Adam Smith, *The Book of the Twelve Prophets*, i. 171–2: "But ye shall lift up . . . your king and . . . your god, images which ye have made for yourselves."—Budde, *The Religion of Israel to the Exile* (1899), p. 68, translates: "Did ye not bear about [that is to say, at that time, in the desert] your king Sakkūt and your star Kēwān?" In footnote 1 he says: It appears to me impossible to strike out *v.* 26, because no explanation can be given for its subsequent origin and interpolation. Prof. N. Schmidt offers a restoration and explanation of this verse which differ widely from those hitherto proposed, but hardly come nearer the mark.—W. Robertson Smith, *Prophets* (1895), 401-3: "ם and כ mean 'tabernacle' and 'pedestal' or something of the kind"; p. 140, he says: "In Amos v. 26 there is a very obscure allusion to the worship of the star-gods, which from the connection cannot have been a rival service to that of Jehovah, but probably attached itself in a

But you will ask, Where is the connection between the statement made in this verse and the words of Amos? Why does the writer of this verse 26 mention Ninib (SAG-KUD), and his star Kaimānu in preference to others? Should we not expect to find instead the names of the great Babylonian gods Marduk and Nabū, or the Assyrian Ašur? This question, no doubt, has often been asked, but, to my knowledge, has not yet been answered satisfactorily.

In order to give the correct answer we must go back to verse 24, where Yahweh said unto Israel through the mouth of Amos (As truly as my name is "The God of hosts") shall judgment roll as waters, and righteousness as a perennial stream.—Yea, judgment, justice and right, as well as (my) righteousness shall be established; yea, indeed,

subordinate way to the offices of his sanctuary."—Zeydner, "Nog iets over den profeet Ámos" (*Stemmen voor Waarheid en Vrede*, 1893, 613 ff.), considers כוכב צלמיכם a late gloss of the author or, rather, of a scribe.—Tiele, *Geschichte der Religion im Altertum*, i. (1896), p. 336: "Das Tragen der Sikkut (sicher "das Zelt," der heilige parakku) ihres Königs und ihres Sterngottes Kêvan bezieht sich entweder auf die Zukunft oder, was mir wahrscheinlicher vorkommt, auf die Gegenwart"; and *ibid.*, rm. 2, he says: "Man fasse die Perfecta präsentisch, so wird der Sinn wenigstens logischer. Im Texte folge ich der jetzte allgemein angenommenen Korrektur von Kijjûn in Kêvan (Saturn). Sie ist jedoch nicht absolut gesichert, und die Übersetzung, die Säule des Sterns eures Gottes, vielleicht vorzuziehen."—John P. Peters, *Hebraica*, i. pp. 242–3 follows Schrader closely.—Keil, *Minor Prophets*: "But have ye borne the booth of your king and the pedestal of your images, the star of your gods, which ye made for yourselves?"—Hitzig-Steiner, *Die Zwölf kleinen Propheten* (1881), pp. 130–134, has nothing new to offer.—G. Baur, *Amos*, 376: "Und ihr truget die Gehäuse des Milchom und den Kaiwan, eure Bilder des Sterns, die Götter, die ihr euch gemacht."—Against Bauer's translation, especially his reading מַלְכֶּם, see Düsterdieck, *Studien und Kritiken*, 1847, 869–914, especially pp. 908–12. With Ewald he refers the whole verse to the future; but translates: "Aber (=*waw adversat.*) ihr tragt die Hütte eures Königs," etc.—Mover, *Phoenicier*, i. 254–321, says on p. 296: "Ihr truget die Kapelle eures Moloch und den Chigun (die Säule) eurer Bilder, die ihr euch gemacht." Earlier writers, with the exception of Gesenius, *Commentar zu Jesaias* (1821), vol. ii. 343 f., and Justi (1799), have most fanciful and wonderful ideas about the meaning of this verse 26.

The early literature on this verse is well given in Baur, *Amos*, p. 364. Of recent writers J. H. Gunning, *De godspraken van Amos*, Leiden, 1885, contains a very rich collection of literature.—Also see Muss-Arnolt, *Biblical World*, June, 1897, pp. 451–52.

it has been by this time, though in a manner not anticipated by you. This it is that the writer of verse 26 had in mind. For I conjecture that he was, more or less, acquainted with the language and religion of Israel's subduers, a supposition by no means too presumptuous after the discovery of the Tell-Amarna Tablets. He was considering the fate and present condition of Israel—in exile and worshipping the gods of their masters. And he remembered that among the stars mentioned by the Assyrians and Babylonians there was one star Kaimānu, which was explained as the star of justice and righteousness, the kakkab ket-tuu me-šar (II. Rawl., 49 no. 3, 41); it was the star of the god Ninib (SAG-KUD). No other star, with its god, fitted so well the context, to illustrate and to demonstrate to his Judean countrymen how Yahweh's judgment (justice) and righteousness had overtaken the house of Israel in a manner, though foretold, yet by no means thus expected, even by his Prophet Amos. This, I believe, is the *only* reason which led the writer of verse 26 to mention that star and its god as representative of the whole Assyrio-Babylonian pantheon. If the kakkab ket-tu u me-šar had explained any other star, I am convinced we should find it mentioned in verse 26 instead of כיון = Kaimānu; and, again, were another than Ninib the god of the star Kaimānu, we should certainly find its name in our verse, rather than SAG-KUD = Nin-ib. This explanation shows the author of verse 26 to have been a man of knowledge as well as of sarcasm; for it is sarcasm, rather than pity and sympathy, that reveals itself in the words:

> And (now) ye worship Ninib as your decider and even as your *elohīm*;
> And the star Saturn as your idol, which ye have made unto yourselves.[1]

W. MUSS-ARNOLT.

[1] On text and translation of Acts vii. 42, 43, where Amos v. 25–27 is quoted by St. Stephen, see Westcott and Hort, *The New Testament in Greek*, vol. i. pp.

HISTORICAL COMMENTARY ON THE EPISTLES TO THE CORINTHIANS.[1]

XXX. Eating in an Idol Temple (viii. 10).

In § XXVIII. we described some of the difficulties which were caused to all the early Christians by the question whether meats sacrificed to false gods had become polluted thereby and so rendered unfit for Christian use. Before completing the subject, however, it was necessary to examine whether the widely accepted view that no officials had as yet been appointed in the Corinthian Church was correct; and we found reason to think (1) that there were officials at Corinth corresponding to the *Presbyteroi* in the Galatian Churches (*Acts* xiv. 20), but not called by that name;[2] (2) that some of those officials had been guilty of practices which Paul disapproved of, and that therefore he refrained from recommending the congregation to be obedient to them in 1 *Corinthians* xvi. Our view is that the *Hegoumenoi* (to use the descriptive participle, "leading [men]," which was probably the nearest approach to a title yet in use for the Corinthian officials) had taken a

261, 575; ii., Appendix, p. 92, col. 2. Holtzmann, in *Hand-Commentar zum Neuen Testament*, "Apostelgeschichte," *ad loc.*, and Meyer-Wendt, *Die Apostelgeschichte* (8te Aufl., 1899), pp. 162–63, would have done well to consult at least Wellhausen and Nowack, as well as Böhl, *Alttestamentliche Citate im Neuen Testament* (1878), pp. 133–38, and especially Prof. Toy's *Quotations in the New Testament* (1884), pp. 112–114, where they would have found much useful information. Eugen Huhn, *Die Alttestamentlichen Citate und Reminiscenzen im Neuen Testament* (Tübingen, Mohr, 1900), pp. 104–5, is even more meagre than Meyer-Wendt.

[1] At Dr. Knowling's request I mention that, in the quotation made from his *Acts* in the last instalment of this article, p. 374 f., the words "eager to lead . . . the principle" should be marked as quoted from Dr. Hort. They were inadvertently not so indicated in his Edition of *Acts*; but the reference to Dr. Hort is given at the end of the note. This does not detract from the use made of the passage in our review, p. 321.

[2] In a note on § XXIX. p. 377, a reference should be added to Ziebarth, *das griech. Vereinswesen*, p. 131.

course which Paul strongly disapproved of by continuing to be members of Pagan clubs or societies in Corinth.

We may take it for granted that the letter of the Corinthians to Paul had been drawn up by a small number of persons, and not by the whole congregation. It may have been—and we think that it was—submitted to the whole body of the congregation after it was composed; but a letter could hardly be composed except by one or a few persons. Doubtless the composers were the leading officials, for the writing of letters on behalf of the congregation, which was probably entrusted at an early date to the bishop,[1] was an important duty in the early times of the Church (since the unity and solidarity of the parts scattered over different lands and cities could be maintained only through visits and correspondence), and such an important part of the Church's life would naturally be put in the hands of the officials selected by the Church.

The *Hegoumenoi*, in drawing up the letter, had included under the general title of "eating meats offered to idols" certain connected practices; and while they defended their right to eat such meats, they evidently intended that their defence should be taken as carrying with it the right to another far more serious kind of action.[2] We do not mean that the *Hegoumenoi* consciously smuggled in the more serious action under the guise of mere eating of sacrificial meat. But they were evidently in the letter defending their own action, and they did so on the ground that the essential fact in it was merely the eating of meat which had been sacrificed, and, if they proved the latter to be permissible, they established their right in the more serious matter. Paul finds it necessary to distinguish mere eating of sacrificial meats from that more serious action, pronouncing the one to be allowable (except in so far as sympathy

[1] *The Church in the Roman Empire before* 170, chap. xvi. § 3.

[2] Viz., taking part in societies united by common rites and meals, see § XXXI.

for the feelings of other Christians made it right to abstain), while showing that the other is actual idolatry.

The real nature of the Corinthians' action first appears in viii. 10: "If a man see thee which hast knowledge sitting at meat in a place of an idol" (εἰδώλιον). These words of *v.* 10 arrest our attention: some of the Christians were to be seen sitting at meat in an idol place, that is, taking part in a feast or banquet in some place, a temple or other building, consecrated to a Pagan deity. What is the precise meaning of this?

The form of statement in viii. 10 is remarkable: "thee which hast knowledge sitting in an idol place." The way in which one person is apostrophized suggests that some one of those who had written to him is singled out as the guilty party, or rather that several such persons are appealed to one by one. That implies that one or more of the *Hegoumenoi* had been seen in an idol's temple and been talked about in the congregation.

The feast must necessarily have had the form of a ceremony connected with the worship of the deity to whom the locality was consecrated. On this there can be no question. A feast in such a locality could not be a purely secular and non-religious function. Yet it seems hardly possible that a professing Christian could take part in a Pagan ceremony, ostensibly religious, publicly and before the eyes of the world, while still remaining a professed member of the Church. Even if he desired to remain so, it is inconceivable that he should have been permitted by the brethren to remain among them unquestioned.

We cannot accept the suggestion that the action of those who sat in an idol's temple was due to bravado, as "a thing done to show their 'knowledge' and freedom from superstition about the idol." We have been led to form a different conception of the character of the Corinthians (see especially § XXVII.), which makes it clear to us that the nature of

the ceremony must have been such that the religious aspect could easily be regarded by them as secondary and comparatively unimportant. The nature of ancient Greek religion and its relation to ordinary social institutions and associations explains the difficulty.

XXXI. The Corinthian Clubs or Associations.

Associations or clubs of private individuals were very common in the Greek cities. They often were constituted for some non-religious purpose. They were sometimes benefit societies or burial societies. They might be intended for some useful municipal end: for example, the body of 150 firemen, which, as Pliny reports to Trajan in *Ep.* 33, it was proposed to form at Nicomedia in Bithynia, would certainly have taken the form of an association bound together by the common worship of a divinity; and they would have held their meetings in a place consecrated to that divinity, and feasts in the form of ceremonies of their cult would have been celebrated. Hence Trajan refused to permit the formation of the body of firemen. He knew that they must be a society, and he knew how liable such societies were in Greek cities to be turned into political clubs, or to be diverted to the purpose of vieing with, and ultimately quarrelling with, other clubs; and as Bithynian cities had suffered much from such internal quarrels, he was afraid that even a body of firemen would turn into a cause of disorder.

The attitude which an emperor of such fair and practical mind and lofty views as Trajan, who governed his action on general principles, took up towards a proposed association of firemen is eminently instructive in view of the Corinthian situation. Pliny, who knew well what Trajan's general principle was, pleaded for an exception in this case: only real workmen should be admitted, and the number should

be limited to 150. But Trajan replied that the body of workmen would soon turn into a *Hetairia*, a body of *Hetairoi* or pledged comrades, who would feel their bond to one another stronger than their obedience to the law.

Again, in Corinth there were many strangers, resident for purposes of business. The strangers who belonged by origin to any one country or large city would form a society for purposes of mutual help and intercourse and enjoyment; and this society would be constituted as a religious association for worshipping some deity, generally the patron of their country or city. So at Puteoli the Syrians from Berytus met in the worship of a god whom they called in Latin Jupiter, but who was undoubtedly a Syrian god, called in a Latin inscription by a Latin name.[1] There must have been many such societies at Corinth; and they would greatly conduce to the pleasure and comfort of their members.

A work by Dr. E. Ziebarth[2] may be consulted by those who desire to gain some clearer conception of the extent and variety of such associations in Greek cities. The descendants of some ancient family might form themselves into a society with a common cult. Companies for trading purposes or for farming taxes, groups of traders engaged in the same line of business, groups of persons occupied in the pursuit of knowledge, companies of artists and actors or men of letters, political clubs, and a host of other associations can be traced in the cities of the eastern provinces. Many of these can be proved to have met in the performance of a common worship; many others are too obscure to admit of positive assertion; but probably all relied on a similar religious bond. It is highly probable that many societies, which Dr. Ziebarth classes as formed purely for religious ends, served also some purpose of ordinary

[1] He is called Jupiter Heliopolitanus, *i.e.* the Baal of Heliopolis (Baalbec).

[2] *Das griechische Vereinswesen*, Leipzig, 1896.

life,[1] though we have no evidence [2] of that side of their character. In the names of some societies, whose main purpose was non-religious, the religious character was so strongly expressed that their real character might easily escape notice.

Owing, doubtless, to the want of epigraphic memorials of Corinth, Dr. Ziebarth has found no reference to any club in that city, except in a passage of Suidas, which seems to describe a Corinthian Society of Kotys, of the worst character. It was apparently a purely religious society, and was called by the characteristic title θίασος.

But there can be no doubt that Corinth was a favourable soil for the growth of associations and clubs of every kind. Where the population was homogeneous and simple in character, such societies were less numerous and flourishing. It was in great centres of international life and commercial intercourse, such as the harbours of Piræus and Rhodes, that societies flourished most:[3] and Corinth, after its restoration by Julius Cæsar, was the greatest international centre of Greece. Incidentally we observe in this characteristic a proof that the societies were an influence hostile to the unity of the state, and therefore to patriotism and national order; and we understand why patriots and lawgivers disliked and condemned them. The more united the state, the weaker the societies in it; the more mixed the state, the stronger the clubs.

The more we study Greek city life the more obvious becomes the extreme importance of the question, whether Christians might join in the common meals which constituted a leading feature in the ceremonial binding each of those clubs into a unity. If they joined in those meals, they must eat meat which they had seen sacrificed to idols.

[1] For my own part I regard this as practically certain; and Dr. Ziebarth, *op. cit.*, p. 211, points out that many of them became of a character not unlike "clubs" in modern English life.

[2] The evidence about most of them is confined to one or two references in each case. In many cases we know nothing except the name.

[3] See Ziebarth, *op. cit.*, p. 196.

But, as society was constituted in the cities of the Græco-Roman world, they must either join in those meals or leave the societies, excellent and useful as many of them were. Doubtless some, and even many, of the Christians had belonged in their Pagan days to such societies. Doubtless some of the *Hegoumenoi* were active members and even leading spirits in them. They had paid the subscriptions (which were a regular feature of such associations) : were they to lose all benefit therefrom? Worse than that, were they to retire from those in which the objects were really praiseworthy and beneficial? If so, then, as they said in their letter to Paul, they could find no place for themselves in the world and must go out of it.[1]

There can be no doubt what view the Corinthian officials were, as a body, disposed to take on this subject. They would remain in the ordinary associations which had mainly a non-religious purpose. They would partake of the common meals made on the flesh of victims sacrificed to the god in whose worship the association met, and served in his holy place; and they justified this on the ground that the idol was naught. They, doubtless, reminded Paul that he himself had often declared to them that an idol was naught, a mere stock or stone, devoid of all life and power, having no real existence; and they drew the conclusion that meat offered to naught could not derive any pollution therefrom. The meat intended to be eaten remained after the sacrifice exactly the same as before.

This was probably the most serious matter in the present situation of the Corinthians, and Paul's method of dealing

[1] Prof. Findlay in his reconstruction of their letter puts it thus (Expositor, June, 1900, p. 403) : "We must depart from Corinth : nay, we doubt whether in the whole world we should find any spot where men dwell that is clear of defilement." One would only wish that he had not restricted this by his context to the one department of personal chastity. Probably the Corinthians either meant it in a much wider sense, or used a similar expression more than once, explaining that they could hardly avoid intercourse with idolaters unless they were to "go out of the world." See v. 10.

with it is instructive and beautiful. The right to be members of Pagan clubs had not been directly submitted to him; and he does not treat it as if it had. He refrains from imposing any absolute prohibition, or stating any dogmatic rule, which might be like a law constraining the free action of the individual Christian. Especially, in dealing with the Corinthian philosophers, it would be worse than useless to impose a prohibition on them. It was necessary to lead them to place on themselves a prohibitory law.

This was not a case like the crime alluded to in chap. v., in regard to which an absolute law must be stated. It was a case where something—and even a good deal—must be left to the individual conscience. And so Paul tries to lead up his correspondents to a higher plane of thought, on which they can see more clearly all that was involved in the question, and may judge for themselves. That higher plane of thought, on which alone they could see clearly and judge rightly, required among them a far better appreciation of the common bond that united the brethren. Hence he diverges from the topic for a time, while he tries to work up his readers to appreciate some sides of the situation which were as yet hid from them, and then returns to it in chap. x.

XXXII. The Common Meal (x. 14-21).

The central point in the ceremonial that bound together the members of those Greek associations or clubs was the common meal, and especially the common cup. "I have eaten out of the holy dish, I have drunk from the sacred cup" was the sacred formula pronounced by each participator in the Mysteries,[1] which may be taken as typical of the whole class of associations.

[1] ἐκ τυμπάνου βέβρωκα, ἐκ κυμβάλου πέπωκα: Firmicus Mat. and Clem. Alex. *Protr.* 2: literally, the holy drum and cymbal of the goddess. The authorities differ a little as to the words. Firmicus finishes γέγονα μύστης Αττεως.

It is important to notice the analogy between the great Mysteries and the associations. The religious associations were simply private societies of *Mystai*, celebrating the rites and mysteries of a special deity. Even the associations for a non-religious purpose also tended towards a similar close fellowship—to become bodies of *Hetairoi*, as Trajan said—and modelled their religious ritual (so far as evidence goes) after the Mysteries, so that the members became *Symmystai*, *i.e.* persons initiated in the same mystic ritual. In one case, in a club at Smyrna, the members are styled both *Symbiotai* (*i.e.* associates)[1] and *Symmystai*.[2]

It is hardly possible to use too strong language in describing the strength and closeness of the tie which bound together those Pagan societies; it was a power often stronger than the tie of country or of blood, and was considered by the wiser Pagans to be a real danger to the healthy and free life of society. (See also p. 441.)

Prudent lawgivers recognised in the common meal of the societies the special bond of union which might make them dangerous to the state by leading the members to regard their unity and fellowship in the society as more binding than their unity and patriotism in the nation; and it is a well-known fact that it was the common meal (the Agape) of the early Christians which most of all roused the suspicion of the imperial Roman governor, and that this was probably the reason why the Agape was soon generally given up by the Church.

All those persons, then, who participated in the common meal of the Pagan society are initiated into the mystic bond of union, and enter into communion with one another through the power, not divine but dæmonic, which consti-

[1] The term *Symbiosis* described the club on its non-religious side, but was also applicable to a religious association. The religious and non-religious sides of the clubs melted into one another, and cannot be distinguished sharply.

[2] Ziebarth, *op cit.*, pp. 52, 206; *οἱ συμβιωταὶ καὶ συμμύσται*, under the common article.

tutes and gives strength to that mystic bond. Behind the idol to which the Pagan society sacrifices is a certain dæmonic power; and those who participate in the sacrificial feast become united in a mystic union with that power and with one another.

In this opinion as to the importance of the sacrificial meal Paul was stating what was at that time generally accepted. The meal was regarded not merely as the eating of food in common, but as an act involving real conveyance of power. To take an illustrative example, the belief has always been widespread and strong in the East that the stranger who succeeds in entering (even by craft and stealth) within the circle of the family religion and partaking of the family meal, becomes to such a degree part of the family that his person is sacred to all its members. He must not be injured by them; and though he may have slain one of their number previously, yet revenge must give way to the bond which now unites him to the family.

Evidently Paul's view is that membership in those Pagan societies, beneficial and excellent as some of them were, was irreconcilable with the Christian spirit, and the reason lay in the common meal and the power it exerted on the mind and nature of the participants, making them all into brothers (Ziebarth, p. 211).

But, while the sacrificial meal becomes a force in the mind of those who share in it, it is also clear that the force arises through the surrounding circumstances and ceases when it is divorced from them. The power behind the idol is not a self-existent devil, as Justin and Tertullian and the early Church in general crudely imagined. It is a power relative to the human mind, and conditioned by the whole series of facts that play upon the mind. If the same meat is carried to another place, a butcher's shop or a private house, and eaten in different surroundings, apart from the company which uses that rite to cement its fellowship,

then it is no longer affected by the dæmonic power; it has suffered naught, but remains clean.

Must we not conclude, then, that the danger which Paul dreads in the Pagan societies was the formation of a tie of brotherhood inconsistent with and opposed to the tie of Christian union? Intercourse with Pagans is not forbidden; one may mix in ordinary society, even though one knows that the Pagan does not obey those principles of pure life which the Christians must comply with. One may do business with Pagans, accept their invitations, eat and drink with them; but one should not bind oneself to them by the tie of a common solemn ritual, which exercises a strong constraining force on the will and nature of man, and prevents him from real devotion to Christ.

XXXIII.—The Pagan Clubs and the Christian Church.

If we are to estimate the importance attached to a topic in Paul's mind, as he was writing, by the comparative frequency with which the words connected with it occur in his letter, then it is beyond question that "idolatry" was a topic that occupied much of his thought as he wrote this letter to the Corinthians.

The words "idol," "idolatry," etc. (*εἴδωλον* and its connexions, *εἰδώλιον*, *εἰδωλόθυτος*, *εἰδωλολάτρης*, *-λατρεία*), occur 15 times in 1 *Corinthians*, 6 times in the remaining letters, and 11 times in the rest of the New Testament. Contrast this with the word *πόρνη* and its connexions; these occur 12 times in 1 *Corinthians*, 7 times in the remaining letters, and 35 times in the rest of the New Testament. Now we have pointed out that the common view of commentators—who describe impurity as the great enemy and danger in Corinth—is mistaken,[1] and that the danger on that side

[1] See § XX.

was common to all ancient society and rose from the low ideas prevalent on the subject among even the most enlightened and orderly class of society. The danger that bulked most largely in Paul's mind as he wrote to the Corinthians was not impurity (though of course that was everywhere a danger in the Pagan world), but idolatry.

They were still a very young congregation; the prime need was to raise them quite out of their idolatrous upbringing and surroundings; and the most serious danger was lest they should unwittingly and unconsciously fall back into the practices connected with idolatry. But observe: the danger was not that they should directly return to the worship of the gods whom they had abandoned; in that case they would have been hopeless, and their "last state would be worse than the first." The danger was lest, while they thought they were still leading the Christian life, they should be attempting to combine with it practices and acts which were irreconcilable with it and must destroy their Christian spirit.

Now Paul tends to connect together the thought of idolatry and the thought of the Holy Sacrament. They must be related to one another as the evil and the antidote: between them there could be no other connexion. If we glance at the sequence of thought in x. 14–21, the close connexion of the two ideas in the Apostle's mind is unmistakable: "the cup of the Lord and the cup of *Daimonia*," "the table of the Lord and the table of Daimonia," are side by side in his mind and words. When he begins the paragraph, "My beloved, flee from idols," he continues at once, "I speak as to men who can understand: judge ye what I say. The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not a communion and fellowship in the blood of Christ?" And throughout the paragraph he balances the one idea against the other, and passes back and forward between the two.

It is impossible to read that paragraph without being impressed by Paul's obvious intention to set these two facts, the Eucharistic Meal and the Common Meal of the Pagan societies, before the minds of the Corinthians as two hostile ideas, two irreconcilable and mutually destructive forces: "Ye cannot drink the cup of the Lord and the cup of Dæmonic Powers: ye cannot partake of the table of the Lord and the table of Dæmonic Powers."

The word "communion" or "fellowship," *κοινωνία*, determines the sense of this passage. It does not simply indicate that the celebrants of the sacrificial feast each eat some of the food that has been consecrated by sacrifice. Its fundamental force is to express "fellowship" and "close union with each other": the fellowship is cemented in virtue of the common meal, not through the dividing of the food among the participants, but through the common enjoyment by them of the same meal with all that is implicated in the meal, viz., the dæmonic power communicated by its having been offered in sacrifice amid certain impressive surroundings.

The word *κοινωνία* is often applied to the close mystic union between husband and wife, and the first formation of that union was guaranteed and sanctioned by the common partaking of the mystic cup, as has been shown elsewhere; and the ceremony was in various respects adopted from the ritual of the Mysteries.[1] The uniting bond in the religiously constituted Pagan societies was conceived as similar in strength and character.

The force of Paul's assertion here is not fully realized until one takes it in conjunction with what he is denying. As we have seen, the Corinthian philosophers argued that the sacrifice, being offered to a thing of naught, could not suffer any pollution or come under any influence from that naught; and that they who possessed insight might as

[1] *Hist. Comm. on Galatians*, p. 89 f.

freely partake of sacrificial meat as of similar meat which had not been sacrificed. Paul accepts part, and denies part of their assertion. Such meat of a sacrifice may be freely eaten, when it has been bought as exposed for sale in a butcher's shop (x. 25). The meat in itself suffers nothing from the thing of naught, the idol. But the evil lies in the fellowship and communion with others in virtue of the common meal forming the climax of the common performance of the idolatrous ritual; for in those surroundings the participator binds and pledges himself to his fellows in association with Dæmonic Powers.

Further, even the eating of that sacrificial meat is harmless when it is offered to a guest in a private house (even the house of the sacrificer[1] is evidently included). The meat in itself is not unclean or polluted; and the circumstances are no longer such as to give any ritual force to the participating in it. In fact, the eater now simply takes his part of the meat; and in the act of eating he does not enter into communion with the other participators.

Still, even in such a situation the sympathy and love of the guest will lead him to refrain, if another of the brethren, less robust in conscience and penetrating in insight, points out to him—in horror and deprecation (as is implied)—that the meat before him has been part of a sacrifice. But in this case, it is only sympathy for his brother, and not the nature of the case in itself that leads him to refrain.

XXXIV. The Eucharist in St. Paul's Gospel.

We cannot fail to observe the extreme importance attached to the Sacrament in this letter. It is the leading thought rising to the writer's lips and pen time after time

[1] Understanding that he sacrificed at a temple, and brought away the meat to his own house.

in the most diverse surroundings (v. 7 f., vi. 17,[1] x. 16–21, xi. 20–34).

It is sometimes said that the unusual number of these references is due to the fact that the Epistle was written at the time of the Passover; and an argument for dating the composition has been sought from this. We cannot, however, accept this explanation. We are unable to admit that the process and evolution of thought in the letter was determined by such an accidental coincidence. In the Sacrament Paul saw the antidote which the Corinthians needed to the great evil; and the greatness of the danger leads him to dwell on the antidote.

Moreover, this argument as to the date has no force unless the Christian Sacrament was in that age confined to the time of Passover, which we cannot admit, and which very few are likely now to maintain. The Sacrament might be suggested to Paul at any season of the year, for it clearly was frequently celebrated. In v. 7 f. the Passover is mentioned (though not in such a way as to imply that it was occurring when Paul wrote): in the other places only the Sacrament, not the Passover, is referred to.

Must we not infer from the Epistle that special importance was attached by Paul to that rite in the building up of a Church in a Pagan city and in the Pagan world? It was to him not merely a symbolic action. The Sacrament was a real force, exerting a strong influence over the will and nature of those who shared in it: it was the one power which might counteract the constraining force of the Pagan fellowships, which, as he saw, were a dangerous allurement to the leading men in the Corinthian congregation.

It was more difficult to rouse in the mind of the Pagans a strong feeling of Christian brotherhood and unity than

[1] That the Communion of the Sacrament is in Paul's mind in vi. 17 is clear from what has been said in § XXXII. f.

among the Jews. In the latter the feeling already existed in virtue of their own religion, which united them together and separated them from the rest of the world by its character and by its common Passover. Among the Jews all that was needed was to modify the direction of that strong feeling which they already had. But among the Pagans there was no such feeling. It was strange to them, except in regard to their clubs; and therefore the Christians would find the religious unity of the club a dangerous antagonist to the proper realizing of the Church unity and brotherhood.

From v. 7 f. it seems an unavoidable inference that St. Paul conceived the death of Christ to be the Paschal sacrifice: "Our Passover also hath been sacrificed, Christ." The common cup and bread constitute the pledging of the participating brotherhood to their fellowship in virtue of their common relation to the sacrifice of Christ. The power of the Saviour is imparted to them in the Sacrament; and they become a brotherhood and a fellowship in virtue of their common relation to Him: "The cup of Christ's blessing over which we bless God, does it not constitute a fellowship of the blood of Christ?"

It lies entirely outside of our purpose and province to seek to investigate the philosophic and theological ideas involved in St. Paul's conception, or to touch on later theories as to the meaning of the rite. We are satisfied to recognise that he considered that a certain force and power to move the minds and nature of the participators was communicated in the Sacrament. But it is part of our task to investigate the historical origin of St. Paul's conception. That, however, must be left for a new section.

W. M. Ramsay.

JOSEPH: AN ETHICAL AND BIBLICAL STUDY.

VII.

"The Second to Pharaoh, the Saviour of Egypt."

(Gen. xli. 37 to end, and xlvii. 13–26).

We can imagine how this passage in the life of Joseph would glide swiftly and triumphantly along on the lips of those who rehearsed it during those gloomy years when the tribes of Israel remained in bondage. For it was doubtless in that period of cruel isolation after he died that this story got its rhythm and natural, smooth-lipped music. The telling of the story is the earliest form of all literature; if the Hebrews had not the habit and the art, then they were in this alone among the nations. But we know that in the time of Moses they had it and had it impressively; for, when he would allusively suggest the silence and awe which come with death, he could find nothing more familiar and striking to say than "We spend our years *as a tale that is told.*" History took its first elementary shape when, in idle hours around the hearth or under the village tree, men recited what they remembered or what their fathers had told them; then, to the motion of the hands and the rise and fall of the voice, the narrative of fact became harmonious and tuneful and the story flowed to the measure of the ballad, till, on the lips of the naturally selected man of imaginative heart and glowing eye, the facts became grouped and heightened and dramatically interpreted to old and young who gathered round. What a thrilling word, ever in season, the tale of Joseph—the man whose coffin they kept among them as an ark of covenant—must have been in the huts of the tribes all through those generations

of their exile and bondage! The telling of it must have been a large part of their religion; the memory of it their largest hope. The unconscious intellectual pains which, under the pressure of a strong moral emotion, these men who told it took with this story have made it to us the literary treasure that it is—a precious stone so polished that every vein of mystic meaning is shown in its own beauty and so set that it glances on the breast of this Book in its continual ministry. But, to those who ever and again heard it told in the gloom of Egypt, the life itself must have shone with glory; and from it an inspiration must have come into their lives—an involuntary and sacred veneration as they felt themselves in the presence of a human spirit that was elect of God.

Because it is a transcript of vital human history from these far-off times, the whole tale to us is still full of gesture and tone; and in this passage the narrative composes itself to its free strength. The strain abates; the suppressed struggle of a silent patience ceases; the insult and injustice, which overcast whole chapters, now withdraw; the dismal rooms of his life open and Joseph comes forth to the unshadowed light. His life task is now before him; and it will employ all those energies which his earlier difficulties have developed. The biggest bit of work, which the world of that day had to have done, was assigned to him; and he stood up to it as if it was the substance of which all his previous toil had been but the anticipatory shadow. In his night of hardship he has neither drowsed nor collapsed. He is a man of strong, uninjured soul, of instinctive and swift spiritual precision, and with an untiring and tenacious brain. If Egypt in such a crisis can be saved, the second to Pharaoh will be its saviour; for Joseph stands beside the throne with an intellect that has no superior and a

character as reliable as his intellect, and having his whole manhood irradiated because he had the Divine in his soul.

The intenser interest of Joseph's life slightly slackens here when, after so long an effort, he is seen like a strong runner sweeping towards the goal and with his race as good as won. But, lest our interest slacken too much, we must remind ourselves how, in splendid self-control and patient training, he has equipped himself for the work that he now takes so calmly in hand. His enlightenment as he stands by Pharaoh has come because in the house of bondage and in the cell he was not disobedient to the heavenly vision. To have managed himself against such odds before was a harder task than to manage Egypt now. So we must not be dazzled when we see Pharaoh put his ring on Joseph's hand and a gold chain about his neck. He is not a whit greater when all do him homage than he was when he did Potiphar's housework; he was not more truly the first man in the empire when all the senators did him honour than he had been in the closed corridors of the jail. There was in what befell Joseph no chance or merely empty honour, but rather the recognition of worth by one of the stateliest senates that ever sat. Solemn and slow-spoken, Egypt's senators sat in halls of stone, massive and portentous men and grave of debate. Not of fickle humour, but majestic even in change, they pronounce for their country's best. They answer to their king—these motionless men of counsel—that they cannot find such an one as Joseph, a man in whom the spirit of God is. He was chosen in an hour of crisis to be the first because he was believed to be the best. Thus, over all the princes of the land, there is set by Pharaoh's side a lad of thirty years of life and thirteen of trial, whose only hap up till now has seemed to be misfortune, a foreigner of fair counten-

ance and broken speech, a waif Hebrew (vaguest name by which one man could then call another!) of drifted foot from some far-away beyond the flood. But misfortune has not dragged his soul to earth nor has sin deformed him; he has the mysterious about him and the keys of mysteries in his hand; and, because years of stress and famine are imminent, he is set thus high to teach senators wisdom.

Life is by no means the game of chance which to superficial observers it may seem and which it suits some who write for a season's favour to say that it is. It is a game of the intensest skill, in which on the whole only the best win. A general without much plan may make a brilliant dash and succeed, but campaigns are won by the steadiest calculator; any one of us may make a move at hazard and not lose, but the world has hidden wheels within it of adjustment too accurate and of balance too finely loaded to permit of any one toying or tampering with its levers and handles. Indeed to utilize and keep successful time with the world, a man needs to have his whole nature—physical, mental, emotional and moral —not only in harmony and balance, but also under the instantaneous control of a will whose pressure he can instinctively graduate as circumstances demand. On such a man the world ultimately appears to wait as if to do his bidding, and for him in their courses stars seem to fight. His success may be delayed, but it is sure, for he is in his own being in touch with God, and the order and course of things are in his favour. Such a life, though it be (as men say) unsuccessful here, is only a life unfulfilled; it demands opportunities and outlet elsewhere and in larger worlds; death may release when the clamorous world has baffled, and the poor wise man who never had the city to save here is entitled to have his ten cities to rule somewhere. The Divine arrangements in

the succession of worlds are connected and continuous. Judged and measured by the scale which human nature carries in its own breast, and which gives a Divine contradiction to many of the world's standards, to merit success is a greater thing than to succeed, and to be worthy of reward is reward indeed. Many lives of time have bonds and claims on eternity; for many, as steel-true to duty and God as Joseph was, have stood by no throne and only passed from their dungeon to their scaffold.

A good deal of millinery and show was incidental to Joseph's new position as the second to Pharaoh. The king took a ring off his own hand and put it on Joseph's; he "arrayed him in vestures of fine linen" and gave him a gold chain and the second chariot, and he bade the people bow to him as to one invested with royalty. If we can read Joseph's nature aright, even when we have made large allowance for all his Asiatic emotion, we think that these elaborate arrangements must have been a trouble to him rather than a pleasure. He was no wiser in this array than he had been in his prison garments; but on the whole there perhaps was less pride and affectation in wearing the garter and the star of Egypt than there would have been in refusing them. Joseph had Pharaoh to serve and Egypt to save; and, with a task before him so vast and demanding so imperiously to be done, he would not stickle about his livery. He was neither the better nor the worse for his robe and its ornaments; the size of the man is measured inside the swathing of clothes. The gauffered linen might be a great thing in the eyes of the Egyptian populace at first, while there were regular harvests and plenty and peace; but the moment they discovered that lean famine had advanced in the night and bivouacked in their fields they would all look to the *man* and not to the way he was caparisoned and mounted. Pharaoh was doing only super-

ficial, showy work when he decked his viceroy for the eyesight of all Egypt; but he was more intense and serious than this outward adorning of Joseph showed. In all that he was only flaunting to the staring crowd, while with admirable purpose he was silently executing vast counsels with this seer out of their sight. With an awe that suggested reverence for what lay beyond Joseph, Pharaoh called his minister by a name of reverence and awe, because he deciphered the secrets and had access to the thoughts of God. It was the instinct of a fine insight which made the dream-disturbed king veil the face and form of this man whose intercourse was with God amidst these vulgar trappings of common authority. No one knew better than Pharaoh that to Joseph's high spiritual power these insignia all but did dishonour; and he himself would have been the first to resent the wearing by another of those signs of authority if he had not realized that Joseph represented a kingdom "not of this world." But, with his whole soul searched and vibrating, Pharaoh called him Zaphnath-paaneah; for, through Joseph's transparent, crystalline soul, the spirit of God shone apparent and the tokens were unmistakable that, because famine was near, God had "sent a man."

There are many things worse for a nation than famine and crisis. The pinch of famine and the stress of trial at any time will, if they do no more, bring out *men* and set them in the front; and if the world need anything, it needs to have every now and again its men sifted and assorted. Easy times are the nation's most perilous ones. England was on the crest of the age when most of her living sons were born, and we call her with satisfied hearts the queen of the world's countries; so an element of leisured indolence and a splendid contempt runs the risk of intruding into our life. Our king does not now need to be the man whose battle-axe can ring soundest on the helmet of our

foe, or whose brain can solve the most knotted problem that the times have tangled. Our ideals from time to time need revision. Where there are no ideals, where there is no *vision*, the people perish—languishingly and slowly; but when the ideals are those of luxury and sloth, then decay eats the heart of nations with swift teeth. Our favourite young man in times of long ease is apt to be he who minces the neatest on the street or the carpet; and when days of long peace get fringed with sloth, it may seem sufficient to assent to our religious creed by the politest of little bows. No awakening can be too rude to any nation in such a case; no clap of war's thunder can break too near it, nor traitor's thrust surprise too soon. When crisis or famine comes, it is seen what stuff men are made of. Then the ablest becomes king; then the favourite youths are those of metal who stand where scars are won; and then men go to worship, not in trim garments and with gentle pace, but with both work and will in their mien, and they grip their sword when they say their creed. Let no son of any land we know and love be deceived into carelessness and sloth because there is plenty all around! As things are arranged now, every citizen and son of the empire has a word with the king and a place by the throne, and each one should equip himself and stand in unflurried readiness, as if all depended on him alone. Everything now in the nation is resting on the preponderance of the good average man. The years of plenty will pass and those of famine come in succession so long as the world lasts; and to every man who has trained himself and is fit, as to Joseph, come his opportunity and his call.

By means of these symbols of authority Pharaoh identified Joseph with the throne, and afterwards, by his marriage to an Egyptian, with the people and the country. For "Pharaoh gave him to wife Asenath, the daughter of Potipherah, the priest of On, and Joseph went out over all

the land of Egypt." This fact seems to have many references and to give many suggestions; there is a light in it which gives many gleams as we turn it round in our hands and its facets one after another catch our eye. Now it seems a strange alliance, as if Joseph, wedding into the midst of representative heathenism, were unfilial and unfaithful to his fathers and their God; only was he not an-hungered when he thus went into an unholy temple and ate the bread which was not lawful? Again it presents another aspect when we think how wise-witted Pharaoh was to bind up Joseph's personal life with the interests of the people through a union which associated him with the priests, wielding (as they did) a power that all the land believed to be unselfish! Still further the fact appears to flash light in myriad rays into many dark places remote and near, when we realize how the true religion from the first has had the instinct and power to ally itself with the world's intelligence and culture, and to appropriate men's finest hopes and fears, and with a kindly hand train these up towards a covenant God and guide them to His heaven as their home. This last aspect of the fact, whether it was the one that flashed in the eye of the man who wrote it in this Book or not, is the one of fullest and of permanent lustre. Its is the light that fills our eyes across history as we turn round the many faceted fact of Pharaoh's Hebrew premier marrying into the household of Egyptian priests and becoming an Egyptian by alliance with Egyptian life where that life was most unselfish and universal and divine. It was a significant day in the world's essential history when Pharaoh wedded the man who had the secret of Jehovah into the family of the priest of On in Egypt.

This city of the priests, On of the ancient, and Heliopolis of classic, ages, was the centre of long-ago culture and thought. It was the focus point of the light of those far-

off times. There men raised high their lights of earth until they were touched by the light of worlds unseen; and fed at two Divine sources—the one of man and the other of God—the light so shone that it melted darkness all along life's paths and scattered it beyond life's horizon. There thus early was fostered what is still the *culture* of the world —knowledge raising men to reverence, the faithfulness of search giving place to humility and worship in the presence of the Unsearchable! Thus, in On, long before Athens was built or Alexandria had its libraries, was being swaddled and cradled the thought of our Western civilization; and, while the Pharaohs were ruling by their outward power, the priests of On were guiding the throne by their wisdom. Amidst green fields these wise men of Egypt chose their home and reared their sacred city of pillared granite; and while they from their silent studies taught men to know, they in their temples taught them to worship. A deeply religious people was this nation by the Nile; its power and its life were while it feared its gods. They had their dim, far-away thought of the one God, "the Father of Beginnings," who made other gods and then passed away; and they worshipped the many gods who came after. There in On they worshipped the great god Ra, the sun god, the god of all penetrating essence, of the present, and of work. Practical people they were, and they worshipped as the highest a god who presided over the work to which every morning's light called them!—but a thoughtful also, and they, while they turned to worship as he was daily born in light in the east, did not forget in the evening to turn their eyes to the west, where their dying god lay down in darkness! For they had not only their god of the day, Ra the sun god, who rules the busy present; but they had their Osiris, the god with the keys of the invisible and with the scales of justice and judgment, the god of the hereafter. It was with Potipherah, the priest of this suggestive worship

in On, that Joseph was allied in wedlock and all its tender affinities; and again we say that it was a significant alliance, as if thus early, in Joseph, the sacredness of work was recognised in that religion which was to be the stem of Christianity, out of which, when the times were ripe, grew the great principle, "I must work the works of Him that sent Me." That principle took shape not so much on the lips as in the life of One who in faithful working seemed as if of the house and lineage of Joseph, when He came to be the Saviour of the world.

It may be accepted as certain that the Bible at this point is not framed so as to set before us in every detail a model ruler, when it tells us how Joseph administered Egypt. It only tells enough of his precarious position and his hard task to prove to us the worth of character, and to show how men succeed who rely on God. At the same time, just as his splendid personality is in the story surrounded by some glittering drapery of the court and set where the weird power of the priests touch it, so his strong, straight grip of Egypt's difficulty is shown us with just enough of incident to make it picturesque. The work was well done; the calibre of Joseph, both intellectually and morally, was adequate to the vast strain; but only at one or two turns in his Herculean task are we allowed to see how he worked his hand. It came to be an almost superhuman effort he had to make when for seven years nature in her course passed earth's children by like a stony-hearted stepmother and starved them of bread. "For the famine was very sore, so that the land of Egypt and all the land of Canaan fainted by reason of the famine." Circumstances so exceptional demanded exceptional administration. A man who lacked either wisdom or decision, who was the slave of his feelings, and feared to be strict and severe, was not the man to be Egypt's premier in such a crisis. There true benevolence

needed to be conditioned by a wide outlook and by stern justice. True kindness to Egypt involved its being ruled with a very firm hand. Severe enough Joseph's rule seems to have been, for he "gathered up all the money that was found in the land of Egypt and in the land of Canaan for the corn which they bought." And even the cattle and the lands of the people came with the sore years into the absolute power of Pharaoh through Joseph's rule. There was only hard bargaining without a semblance of benevolence until money and cattle and lands were taken and the people were stripped bare. Yet the nation was trustful and grateful. They felt that Joseph was so good and so just that they could trust their dearest personal liberties to him, and they said, "Thou hast saved our lives; let us find grace in the sight of my lord, and we will be Pharaoh's servants." This admiration and gratitude are filtering clear and pure through all the wrong and ruin of Egypt's intervening years; and to-day no name is spoken by Egypt's peasant lips with more affection and pride than that of Joseph.

It might not be quite a fancy if we found in this finely-attempered narrative some foreshadowing of all just and progressive legislation. For it is not unsuggestive when we read that Pharaoh through Joseph came to an understanding with his people, and drew lines from the throne to every humblest cottage door, binding himself to abide by them on his side if they did so on theirs. This was at a time when there was not even a word for *law* as we now understand it, and when caprice and usurpation and a knowledge of his will were the only acquaintance a people had with their king, and their only experience in transacting with him. Suggestions also might come from the arrangements by which the lands of the priests were exempt from the bond laid on those of the people, and by which also the king became trustee of the nation's interests; and a little

ingenuity might trace and outline the shaping of things towards constitutional government. Still, such a handling of the Word of God lends itself, even when we are least aware of it and least intend it, to deceitfulness; and to coast along by such eddies and shallows instead of following the strong central current means, sooner or later, but inevitably, that we shall get entangled and stranded in this spiritually majestic Book. Its moral pressure and force are all in one direction and are continuous from page to page and book to book as its volume swells, and these are inerrant in their power to give direction and strength to every soul that is set on duty and seeks its God. All these incidents and details as to Joseph's administration of Egypt form but the channel along which flows the shining truth that God carries on an ever-widening purpose amidst all the accidents and chances of human history, and that His chiefest instrument in the world's weal is a human life sworn and constant to His will. This man whom Pharaoh instinctively discovered to be what generations of subsequent history proved—one whom God "*sent before*"—contains in his life the strong lessons of these pages. He stood the test of high service, at a perilous post and through years of unrelieved strain, in Pharaoh's palace; but then he had stood a sorer test in Potiphar's house. By the throne and before the world he stands every inch a man and without an uneasy feature in his face. Can we believe that he could have looked Egypt in the face as he did if there had been either man or woman in the land at whose name he would have blushed? A man's morality is the backbone of him; shake one of his vertebræ, and you loosen every joint in his frame. A man who has failed in Potiphar's house will not be the man he was meant to be, even though he stand before kings. Suppose he had fallen and gathered himself together afterwards;—suppose (to use

a bold figure) he had broken and mended himself again—could he have stood as he now stands before the world, handling himself and Egypt with such easy strength and grace? If there be even a strong knot in the rope a man works with, it will jerk and strain and chafe when the hand comes to the place; and, though there be a clasp of new strength round where the bone broke, that limb will hesitate and fail before its companion.

Should we be jaded by reading and seeking to realize how great Joseph was, or should our eyes be tired of gazing at him in his splendour near the throne, the narrative has some relief for us. We are permitted for our refreshing to feel the throb of the human pulse in this hero, and we may for rest hear a tone or two of his soft home voice. Leave the senate where his word is law, and the palace where even Pharaoh cannot say him "nay," and the public street and the highway where before his proud progress every knee bends to the bare ground, and come home with him and hear how in the house he calls his two boys by name! Hear the tenderness and tremble in his voice when he first calls "Manasseh!" Men ask, "What's in a name?" and we answer, "Much, very much, in this one." Much, very much, was in it when Joseph first framed and said it; and much it meant in Joseph's ears when he called it or heard it called all through the house day after day. Great seas of sad memories first heaved and surged under a high and happy influence, and, as if under a new and sacred spell, then began to sway themselves in noble rest, when Joseph named his firstborn Manasseh; for "God," said he, "hath made me forget all my toil and all my father's house." He had kept a calm face, and a brave heart in a silent breast, all those thirteen years of durance and wrong; but in this name "Forgetting" we may learn how deep and intense had been his sense of hardship, and how sore the

suffering and weariness which had pervaded his life. We may also infer the deeper anguish of his soul—the disappointment, the fruitless return, of his far-travelled thoughts which ever strayed towards home and absent ones while he lay in prison, and the craving of his deepest nature for recognition and the right.

But now he must leave these sad things that are behind; he must bury his dead past; he must lay aside that weary weight and run with patience; he must work and that without whining; he has put his hand to the plough and must not even look back; he must take Egypt in hand, and, without embarrassing sentiment towards either his own country or his father's house, he must save it. All this feeling is finely folded up in the name "Manasseh," for he felt that he was compensated for all he had suffered and sacrificed when he looked on and loved his firstborn boy.

New emotions were awakened when a second son was born; and his name was an index of a higher level to which Joseph's soul had ascended. In his unchosen task, and on the lines of his unlikely fate, he not only reached resignation but came to consolation. After the hard season, during which winter storm made him stubborn-rooted, he not only stood unshaken and strong, but spring came to him and his life blossomed and became fragrant. God's countenance now looked favourably on Joseph, and he was comforted. He buried all his toil and sorrow in "Manasseh," and his life rose to rest and joy in "Ephraim." Those who heard this tale oft told by the fireside and the cradle would need no interpreter for the silent allegory within these two home words of Joseph's choosing; the two names of the two lads would sing their own meaning far into the heart of every Hebrew. But there is a Spirit in charge of these names in this Book, whose office it is to write them with instruction

on human hearts still. Burying and resurrection must go on wherever there is life—the burying of sad pasts and the rising to new and fuller life in the present. We cling to sorrow awhile, sometimes too long. We refuse "for a time and times" to be comforted. We claim griefs "cruel fellowship," as if a passionate attachment to pain were the just sequel to the severed companionship of love. It seems unkind to a friend who has died to allow ourselves to be happy without him; we grudge ourselves our bed at night when we know that the cold wind is wandering round his grave, or we refuse to be comforted if the uncertain sea has taken his life and with restless, uneasy arms is carrying its dead freight on every tide as if seeking a bleak enough shore on which to fling it. But God teaches us when wisely to forget. We should hurt our finest selves if we forced our feelings in this delicate matter and tore where all is so tender; and we should substitute death for life if we stifled sorrow by sacrificing our love and blotting out its memory. The year of God turns round in kindly course. At a set time He returns to every soul in the season of comfort, and some common dayspring will rise with God's healing in its wings. New love comes with new life. Birds of spring come after the winter, and they nest and sing hard by the graves. Children grow up in the home circle where the old friends died. Summer comes to the garden around the house however long we have kept its windows darkened, and tendrils will take hold and climb up and feel round, and blossomed heads will look in at the lattice and coax us with their beauty and their sweetness. In one guise or another "Manasseh" and "Ephraim" sooner or later insist at every door, and pleasantly intrude in every darkened room, in the house of life; they bring heaven's new love with them and they open windows of new outlook and doors of new outlet on life; and they who receive

them discover that they are entertaining God's angels unawares.

Thus we now see lying plain before us the lines along which Joseph moved to his high station beside Pharaoh. No grand start was given him, and he had to rely on his own pace; no showy preparation was assigned him, he was trained within prison bars; and when he had to work, the work was not of his own chosing, but his hand found it to do and he did it with his might. So Joseph might have turned his eyes towards the far line of the distance that hid the hills of his home, and shrunk from the strain and toil which the land of his captivity assigned him. Better, he might have thought, to abide there by the sheepfolds and to hear the bleatings of the flock than to jeopardize my life unto the death for the alien and the stranger in Egypt. But that was not the principle of his life, and that would be a false principle of life for any man to obey. This world may not be our fatherland any more than Egypt was Joseph's, but here we are and here we must work. We have awaked in life to find a great war raging around us—a crisis ever imminent between Satan and God; we have been born in the camp, and must put on armour whenever we can bear it. It is a poor business to turn languidly towards heaven and its rest, and to wish we were there. No matter what we wish, we are *here*, and here to take a side. No one can escape the responsibility when he finds on his either hand the forces of good and evil contending for the mastery; and we venture to say that in the eyes of Eternity the most despicable man will not be he who has boldly and openly opposed the good, but he who has never decided, who has trifled away his life in this earnest world careless whether God or Satan succeeded. The greatest heritage of human life is the commonest; it is put past no one, not the simplest

nor the poorest. The great heritage of a man is not in great opportunities and grand openings of the gates of the world, but in his own human nature—his own capacious self. No one needs more than his own soul and the world's every-day duties to make himself great. Up in any obscurest life may be wrapped the principles and powers of a greatness which it will take all the future to unfold. We may be called to administer no empire nor tide any nation across its emergencies, but each one of us can take those principles which made Joseph great in his second chariot in Egypt, and embody them in his own life, and express them in his own circumstances. And if promotion in life awaits any of us, of this we may be sure—that any road that is to lead us far and raise us high is that road which has its beginning where our feet are standing at this moment; and any work nobler than our present drudgery must arise out of our doing our present task well and putting nobility of motive and effort into it. The motto of surest progress is a very simple one, it is the daily saying to one's self in a thousand little trifles, "*Hoc age*," "Do this."

We see also finer lines than those of Joseph's history. We are shown some of the lines of grace which added beauty to the strength of Joseph's character. The narrative gives us what is not merely accessory, but essential, when it indicates the gentle and sympathetic side of his life; it seems to round off and complete our idea of a shapely and stately manhood by adding the home scene to its portraiture of Joseph. Every bravest man has a tender side to turn to woman and child; every busiest life of fresh usefulness has some retreat upon quiet and rest, and the strongest are they who betimes betake themselves to peace. We all have seen castles battlementing the sheer cliff that defies the sea, and we may have found there some postern-door admitting to garden walks which terrace some slope of green on the

other side, where the warrior within the walls could have quiet thoughts in a quiet hour. Every life should have such a postern-gate to it. For—

> 'Tis not in battles that from youth we train
> The governor who must be wise and good,
> And temper with the sternness of the brain
> Thoughts motherly and meek as womanhood.
> Wisdom doth live with children round her knees;
> . . . . . these are the degrees
> By which true sway doth mount; this is the stalk
> True power doth grow on.
>
> ARMSTRONG BLACK.

THE SERVANT OF THE LORD IN THE GOSPEL ACCORDING TO ST. MATTHEW.

It may be accepted as one of the best attested results of modern criticism that our first Gospel in its present form is a composite document; and there is, further, widespread agreement as to the nature of the various sources out of which it has been compiled. These, speaking generally, are (1) an historical narrative which corresponds very closely with our canonical Gospel of St. Mark; (2) a collection of *Logia*, or discourses, in all probability to be identified with the *Logia* referred to by Papias as the work of the Apostle Matthew; and (3) Tradition, partly written, as in the case of the genealogy of the first chapter, but for the most part oral.

It will be obvious that such an account of its origin does not necessarily interfere with the historical character of the Gospel. A document may be drawn from many sources, and yet these be so combined by the skill and fidelity of the writer as to present a thoroughly trustworthy narrative. But at the same time it is clear that the very fact that a writer does so select and combine his materials indicates that he is guided by some definite motive or purpose in his work. In the case of the Gospel before us the presence of such a purpose is doubtless often unduly pressed; and even when the grosser exaggerations of the "Tendenz-Kritik" are avoided, we are invited to see in it a deliberately planned and executed work of art, in which words and phrases are carefully studied in accordance with the writer's dogmatic aim. Such a description, needless to say, is altogether alien to the generally simple and artless character of the narrative, and so far as it implies a one-sided tendency on the part of the writer is immediately answered by the phenomena which the Gospel itself displays. For if it be

the case, as we shall see more fully directly, that our first Gospel possesses a generally Jewish-Christian character, it is equally certain that its writer has no intention of so exalting the Jewish side of Christianity as to depreciate or lose sight of the inclusion of Gentiles as well as Jews in the saving purposes of Jesus. On the contrary, it is just here that we find some of the most striking evidence of His kingdom's wider and more spiritual character, as witness the account of the visit of the Wise Men from the East to the infant Jesus (chap. ii. 1 ff.) ; the plea for a righteousness that shall " exceed " the righteousness of the scribes and Pharisees (chap. v. 20) ; the abolition of a merely external purity as compared with purity of the heart (chap. xv. 20) ; and, above all, the great commission which the risen Lord lays upon His disciples to " make disciples of all the nations " (chap. xxviii. 19). All these, and other similar passages, we would more naturally have looked for in the Gentile Gospel of St. Luke. And the fact that it is our Jewish first Evangelist who alone has preserved them for us is in itself a proof of the impartial and catholic character of his work, and his independence of all parties.[1]

At the same time there can be no doubt that the writer of the first Gospel, whom for convenience we may continue to describe as St. Matthew, himself views Jesus' person and work principally from a Judaistic standpoint, and that it is specially with the view of deepening the faith of his Jewish fellow-countrymen in Jesus as the Messiah that he writes. It is " Jesus who is called Christ " (chaps. i. 16; xxvii, 17, 22), who is ever before his eye, and already in his opening

[1] " That this Gospel, though written by a Jewish Christian, should nevertheless, in those leading points which are at once visible harmonize with Paul, and should exhibit a Christ elevated yet human, law-observing yet superior to the Law, Jewish yet more than Jewish, is to us a complete proof of its essential accuracy " (Keim, *Jesus of Nazara*, i. p. 74 f., E. Tr.). Similarly Jülicher speaks of the writer as " outside the contests of the apostolic time " (*Einl. in d. N.T.*, p. 194).

chapter he strikes the keynote from which he will have us to regard the whole earthly life of Jesus, "Now all this is come to pass, that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the Lord through the prophet" (chap. i. 22). Thus, for example, after proving by means of an elaborate genealogical table, divided according to Jewish usage into three sections each containing fourteen generations, that Jesus of Nazareth is the legitimate descendant of Abraham and David (chap. i. 1–16), the Evangelist goes on to show that He is the Emmanuel to whose miraculous birth the Prophet Isaiah had testified (chap. i. 23; Isa. vii. 14), and the Governor who, according to Micah, was to come forth from Bethlehem (chap. ii. 5, 6; Mic. v. 2); and, further, that, like the people he had come to save, in Him was fulfilled the old prophecy of Hosea: "Out of Egypt have I called my Son" (chap. ii. 15; Hos. xi. 1). So anxious, indeed, is he to find points of resemblance, that he is not afraid to venture even on a somewhat bold play upon words, and in Jesus of *Nazareth* to find the fulfilment of the old prophecy which spoke of Messiah as *Netser*, a Branch (chap. ii. 23; Isa. xi. 1).[1] He is on surer ground when he ushers in the story of the Galilean ministry by a reference to Isaiah's great promise of the Light that was to spring up for those sitting in the region and shadow of death (chap. iv. 14 f.; Isa. ix. 1, 2); while, when we pass to the ministry itself, in no other of the Gospels do we find so much prominence given to that aspect of Jesus' teaching which connects it with the past, as witness His fulfilment, and not destruction, of the Law (chap. v. 17), and the large space occupied by the Parables of the Kingdom, in which the true character of Israel's Messianic hopes is set forth.

In his account, too, of the Passion, which to many of his

[1] "Es ist nicht die mindeste sachliche Uebereinstimmung vorhanden; nur der Gleichklang der Buchstaben hat zur Heranziehung der alttestamentlichen Stelle geführt" (Hühn, *Die messianischen Weissagungen*, II. Theil, p. 3).

readers must have proved the chief stumblingblock in the way of full acceptance of Jesus' Messianic claims, St. Matthew is careful to connect at every turn even its apparently most outward incidents with some passages from Old Testament Prophecy, and may even possibly have unconsciously modified some of the historical details in order to make them correspond more exactly with the language of Zechariah and the Psalmist, as when he introduces the "ass" beside the "colt" in his account of the triumphal entry (chap. xxi. 5; Zech. ix. 9), or specifies the "thirty pieces of silver" for which Jesus was betrayed (chap. xxvi. 15; Zech. xi. 12), or mentions the mingling of "gall" with the wine (chap. xxvii. 34; Ps. lxix. 21), statements in which he is supported by none of the other Evangelists. In the same way a parallel evidently suggests itself to his mind between the parting of Christ's garments and the word from the Psalms, "They parted my garments among them, and upon my vesture did they cast lots" (chap. xxvii. 35; Ps. xxii. 18). And the same may be said of the mocking cry of chap. xxvii. 43, "He trusteth on God; let him deliver him now, if he desireth him: for he said, I am the Son of God," a clear echo of, if not a direct quotation from, Psalm xxii. 8. Many other fulfilments suggest themselves, notably in the case of some of Jesus' own last words from the cross; but enough has been said to show generally how closely in the Evangelist's mind the whole history of Jesus is associated with God's past dealings with His people, and we must turn now to what is in many respects the most important fulfilment of all, and one certainly which seems to have had a special interest for St. Matthew, and that is the fulfilment in the Person of Jesus of the great prophecies regarding the Servant of Jehovah, or the Servant of the Lord.

It is in II. Isaiah that these prophecies come most prominently before us. And though it has been much discussed to whom the Servant is there to be referred, whether, that

is, to the nation as a whole, or to an elect portion of it, or even to a single individual, the probability is that all three references should be recognized, and that, too, in the order which we have just indicated. Thus nothing can be clearer than the manner in which, particularly in his earlier prophecies, the Prophet unhesitatingly applies the title Servant to the whole nation of Israel, not indeed as a mere aggregate of individuals, but as a society, a body politic—the special object of God's call (Isa. xli. 8; xliv. 1, 2, 21; xlviii. 20). But no sooner does the thought of the destiny to which this call leads become prominent than the Prophet, realizing how little the great mass of the people correspond to it, turns his thoughts not so much to Israel as a whole as to the real Israel within Israel, conscious and effective Israel, the loyal kernel within the nation (chap. xlix. 3–6; l. 4–9). Nor is even this all, but in the great closing section of the prophecy, chap. lii. 13–liii., the reference is narrowed still further, and only in an individual person can the full meaning of the Prophet's words be exhausted.[1]

But side by side with this development in the idea of the Servant a corresponding development in the idea of his office has been observed. Thus, in the first stage, when the Servant represents Israel as a whole, it is the *prophetic* aspect of his office that is prominent. In the second stage, the faithful Servant, in his very fidelity to his mission, is seen face to face with suffering and death: he is the *martyr* Servant. While in the third stage, where the idea of the Servant culminates in an individual, an *atoning* significance is added to the sufferings and death which he endures on

[1] See Prof. G. A. Smith, "The Book of Isaiah" (in *The Expositor's Bible*), ii. p. 255 ff. Compare also Delitzsch, *Isaiah*, ii. p. 174: "The conception of the servant of Jehovah is, as it were, a pyramid, of which the base is the people of Israel as a whole, the central part Israel 'according to the spirit,' and the summit the person of the Mediator of Salvation who arises out of Israel"; and to much the same effect Cheyne, *The Prophecies of Isaiah*, 4th Edit., ii. p. 211 ff.; and Kirkpatrick, *The Doctrine of the Prophets*, p. 381 ff.

behalf of others. The three stages may not be always rigidly marked off from each other, but that they exist in broad outline is, we venture to think, undoubted;[1] while upon one point all may be held as agreed, that it is first of all in the one Person of Jesus Christ that they find their complete and final fulfilment. And what, therefore, we are concerned just now to try to show is, that this same progress which we have found underlying the idea of Isaiah's Servant and his work is reproduced in the Gospel portrait of Jesus Christ, and more particularly in that portrait as it is brought before us in the first Gospel.

Thus, to turn at once to the *prophetic* aspect of Jesus' mission, it is unnecessary to refer in detail to the different proofs which have been brought forward to show how prominent the thought of the prophetic Word as a means of salvation is in the first days of Christ's public ministry,[2] it is sufficient to point to a single decisive passage bearing directly on the point before us. It occurs in St. Matthew xii. 18–21, where the Evangelist sees in the nature of Jesus' work the fulfilment of the Old Testament prophecy :

> Behold my servant whom I have chosen;
> My beloved in whom my soul is well pleased:
> I will put my Spirit upon him,
> And he shall declare judgment to the Gentiles.
> He shall not strive, nor cry aloud;
> Neither shall any one hear his voice in the streets.
> A bruised reed shall he not break,
> And smoking flax shall he not quench,
> Till he send forth judgment unto victory.
> And in his name shall the Gentiles hope.

The words are taken, it will be observed, from the description of the Servant in Isaiah xlii. 1–4, and the very freedom with which they are cited may be regarded as a proof that we have here not merely a quotation, but the

[1] See especially Prof. G. A. Smith, *ut sup.*, p. 276 f.
[2] Comp. *e.g.* Beyschlag, *New Test. Theol.*, i. p. 146 ff., E. Tr.

ideal picture in the Evangelist's own mind of what the ministry of Jesus is like. And what is this picture? Into its different elements we cannot enter at length; but it will be seen that it at least comprises all the leading traits which go to make up the Isaian idea of the true Servant of the Lord—his Divine choice and the Divine power in which he works, the extension of his mission to the Gentiles as well as to the Jews, and the tender and compassionate manner in which that mission is executed. It is thus as a Prophet, a divinely-appointed Messenger of God, making known the justice and righteousness of God,[1] that Jesus under the figure of the Servant is here brought before us.

But this, after all, is only a first stage; and as we follow the description of Christ's mission as it unfolds itself before us in the Gospel, it is to discover that again, as in the case of the Servant, that mission cannot be accomplished without suffering and even death on the part of Him who is summoned to it. Some prevision of this fate must, so it seems to us, have been present to Christ's mind from the very first, and is clearly hinted at on various occasions, as, for example, when He speaks of the Bridegroom, who is to be taken violently away (*ἀπαρθῇ*) from the sons of the bride-chamber (St. Matt. ix. 15). And how indeed could it have been otherwise in view of His own announcement of a Kingdom so contrary to Jewish expectations, and His remembrance of the tragic end that had already overtaken so many of God's Prophets, and more especially His own great forerunner? But while this is so, St. Matthew agrees with the other Synoptists in indicating a definite period or crisis in Christ's ministry, when "from that time began Jesus to shew unto his

[1] The real force of the Hebrew original is apt to be obscured by the translation of מִשְׁפָּט by *κρίσις* (as in the LXX.), which suggests the thought of a judicial sentence.

disciples, how that he must go unto Jerusalem, and suffer many things of the elders and chief priests and scribes, and be killed, and the third day be raised up" (St. Matt. xvi. 21, and parallels). Neither in this, indeed, nor in the two similar prophetic announcements by which it is followed (St. Matt. xvii. 22, 23; xx. 18, 19, and parallels), does Jesus make any direct reference to the prophecy of the Servant in Isaiah; but in all the idea of the *martyr* Servant, which we have seen to be the second stage in Isaiah's conception, is undoubtedly present. For it will be observed that as yet Jesus attaches no thought of any atoning efficacy to His death. That death is presented rather as coming to Him simply owing to the fidelity with which He discharges the work entrusted to Him, and the corresponding opposition He arouses on the part of the Jewish rulers, whose hopes He has disappointed.

But there is yet a third stage in which, not so often perhaps or so clearly as we might have expected in view of later apostolic teaching, but still unmistakably, the *atoning* or *sacrificial* aspect of that death is brought out. Two words of Jesus are specially noteworthy in this connexion. The first occurs in His conversation with His disciples after the ambitious request of the sons of Zebedee, when He sums up the aim of His mission in the words, "The Son of man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give his life a ransom for many" (St. Matt. xx. 28). The second forms part of the instructions at the Last Supper, where the Evangelist represents Jesus as adding, after He has bade His disciples drink of the Cup, "For this is my blood of the covenant, which is shed for many unto remission of sins" (St. Matt. xxvi. 28). Both words have proved the subject of much controversy, and the exact meaning to be attached to some of their terms is still hotly disputed. But at present all

that we are concerned to point out is, that in the case of both there is a reminiscence not only of the idea of, but of the actual language used regarding, the Servant of the Lord in Old Testament prophecy.

Thus, in the case of the first word, it is idle to pretend that the last clause is simply a repetition of the one immediately preceding, and that its meaning is exhausted in the thought of service, even of service endured unto death. The thought of vicarious suffering in some form must underlie the words "a ransom for," or more literally, "instead of many" (λύτρον ἀντὶ πολλῶν).[1] And the meaning is then brought into close parallel with the prophetic announcement of the suffering Servant: "Surely he hath borne our griefs, and carried our sorrows: yet we did esteem him stricken, smitten of God, and afflicted. But he was wounded for our transgressions, he was bruised for our iniquities: the chastisement of our peace was upon him; and with his stripes we are healed" (Isa. liii. 4, 5). While, as regards language, it is impossible not to see in the "many" for whom ransom is provided a reference to the "many" of Isaiah liii. 11.[2]

The history of the second word, "This is my blood of the covenant, which is shed for many unto remission of

[1] So convinced is Baur of this that he makes it the basis of an altogether unwarranted attack on the authenticity of the word, on the ground that such an idea of vicarious suffering is, with the other exception of St. Matthew xxvi. 28, wholly foreign to Jesus' teaching (*Vorlesungen über Neutest. Theologie*, p. 100).

[2] Dr. Briggs (*The Messiah of the Gospels*, p. 111) thinks that the term "ransom" was probably derived from the second Isaiah: "I have given Egypt as thy ransom, Cush and Seba in thy stead. Since thou art precious in mine eyes; thou art honoured, and I love thee; and I will give mankind in thy stead, and peoples instead of thy life" (Isa. xliii. 3, 4). But the LXX. rendering for the Hebrew כֹּפֶר is here ἄλλαγμα, and not λύτρον. At the same time the *idea* of ransom in the above passage as the price of redemption from bondage corresponds more nearly with the Gospel sense than is the case in some of the other Old Testament parallels which are often cited, as Psalm xlix. 7, where the LXX. reads ἐξίλασμα (see Ritschl, *Christl. Lehre von der Rechtfertigung u. Versöhnung*, 3te Aufl., ii. p. 81).

sins," is not so clear. The Passover, the covenant sacrifice at Sinai (Exod. xxiv. 1–12), and the new covenant of Jeremiah (chap. xxxi. 31–37) and Ezekiel (chaps. xxxiv. 25–31, xxxvii. 26–28), would all seem to have been in Jesus' mind as He spoke, and from each the rite He was instituting gathered some of its significance. But why leave out of sight along with these the thought of the covenant which in II. Isaiah is directly connected with the Servant of the Lord, "I the Lord have called thee in righteousness . . . and will give thee for a covenant of the people" (Isa. xlii. 6; comp. xlix. 8)?[1] or ignore again the reference to the "many" whom God's righteous Servant is to justify (Isa. liii. 11)?

Further than this we cannot carry the present inquiry. Our aim has been simply to try to show that that portion of Old Testament Scripture, which has been claimed as Jesus' own favourite portion,[2] has full justice done to it by the Evangelist, who of all the Synoptists brings out most clearly the organic connexion between the Old Covenant and the New; and that in the one Person of Him who reigned from the tree we have the perfect fulfilment of the prophetic picture of the suffering and yet triumphant Servant of the Lord.

George Milligan.

[1] Briggs, *The Messiah of the Gospels*, p. 121.

[2] "Parmi les prophètes écrivains il fit un choix. Il ne semble pas les avoir tous également goûtés. Ésaïe paraît avoir été son auteur de prédilection" (Stapfer, *Jésus-Christ avant son ministère*, p. 104 [Holtzmann, *Neutest. Theol.*, i. p. 115]).

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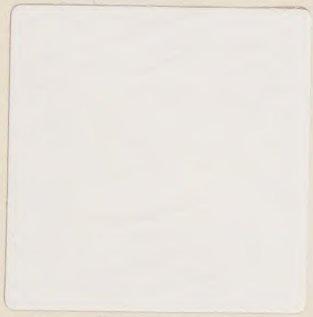

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